Suhadi

PROTECTING THE SACRED

An Analysis of Local Perspectives on Holy Site Protection in Four Areas in Indonesia

CRCS
Center for Religious & Cross-cultural Studies

PROGRAM STUDI AGAMA DAN LINTAS BUDAYA
CENTER FOR RELIGIOUS AND CROSS-CULTURAL STUDIES
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Map of Indonesia

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ABBREVIATION

BKSAUA	: Inter-religious Cooperation Body/*Badan Kerjasama Antar Umat Beragama*
BPS	: Central Bureau of Statistics/*Biro Pusat Statistik*
CRCS	: Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies
CSW	: Christian Solidarity Worldwide
FKUB	: Forum for Inter-religious Harmony/*Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama*
GKPB	: Protestant Christian Church in Bali/*Gereja Kristen Protestan Bali*
GMIM	: Evangelical Christian Church in Minahasa/*Gereja Masehi Injili di Minahasa*
HKBP	: Protestant Church of Batak/*Huria Kristen Batak Protestant*
Interfidei	: Institute for Inter-Faith Dialogue in Indonesia
Madia	: Dialogue Society/*Masyarakat Dialog*
NGO	: Non Government Organization
NU	: The Ulama Awakening/*Nahdlatul Ulama*
PBM	: Joint Ministerial Decree/*Peraturan Bersama Menteri*
RfP	: Religions for Peace
SFCG	: Search for Common Ground
Sulut	: North Sulawesi/*Sulawesi Utara*
UCCHS	: The Universal Code of Conduct on Holy Sites
UGM	: Gadjah Mada University/*Universitas GadjahMada*
WI	: The Wahid Institute

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FOREWORD

In January 2011, four international organizations together with leaders from various faith groups initiated the establishment of a code of conduct in reference to the protection of the holy sites called "The Universal Code of Conduct on Holy Sites (UCCHS)". Those four organizations are the Oslo Center for Peace and Human Rights (OC, established in 2006), One World in Dialogue (EVID, established in 2004), Religions for Peace (RfP, established in 1970) and Search for Common Ground (SfCG, established in 1982). The objective of this Code of Conduct is to increase awareness, religious tolerance, respect and recognition for Holy Sites of all religions in the world.

The UCCHS preamble states that holy sites have recently become the "foci of contention or targets" for destruction in which holy sites of minority groups in particular are in a vulnerable position. It is highly contextual to the situation in Indonesia. Besides expecting to strengthen sensitivity of potential conflict, UCCHS discussions in Indonesia are also expected to open up opportunities for holy sites to serve as a place of dissemination for peace, harmony, and reconciliation.

Holy sites, particularly houses of worship and other sacred places, are often the target of destruction during religious conflicts in Indonesia. Frequently, holy sites become the center of controversy and eventually targets of violence. There is an urgent need to promote

the significance of public understanding of the social, political, and civic significance of houses of worship and holy sites.

Joining the promotion of UCCHS in Indonesian context, SfCG Indonesia recognizes that Indonesia is home to communities of believers in the world's major religions and traditions including Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Christianity in addition to various indigenous and the world religions. Holy sites, varying from temples to churches to tombs, cover all corners of the archipelago. Despite this abundance of holy sites, there is a general lack of knowledge, understanding, and respect for these sacred spaces.

For that reason SfCG Indonesia has been creating projects concerning holy sites which have three main purposes: (a) To increase understanding for religious tolerance through mapping and describing holy sites in Indonesia; (b) To promote the importance of respecting holy sites through innovative educational materials and outreach activities; and (c) To empower and institutionalize inter-faith groups to protect holy sites. The research project by Search for Common Ground (SfCG) --*in which the author of this book is its principal researcher*-- is an effort to understand the problems surrounding holy sites, houses of worship and other sacred places in the Indonesian context as as early assessment for handling SfCG's further programs. This book is the published version of that research report.

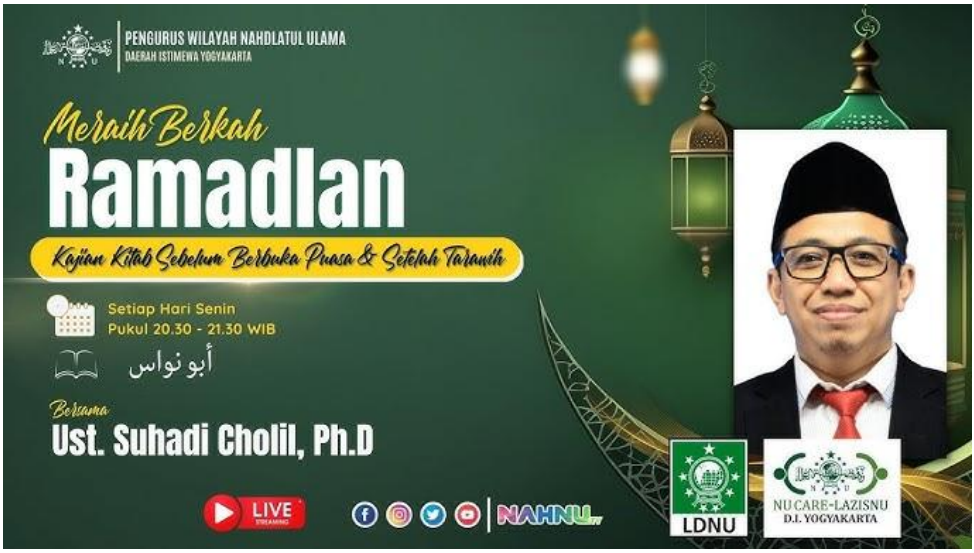
This book has three key questions to investigate: (a) To what extent can the Universal Code of Conduct on Holy Sites be used to campaign respect and protection towards houses of worship and holy sites in Indonesia? (b) What are the public's perceptions and knowledge about houses of worship and holy sites as well as its attitude towards the recognition and respect for them? (c) How does social change affect the relationship between religions and the protection of houses of worship and holy sites in certain areas of Indonesia? The investigation took place in four areas of Indonesia:

Manado, Pontianak, Bali, and Bekasi. The research method used was a combination of quantitative research methods such as surveys and qualitative interviews, observations, and document analysis. There were 669 survey respondents and 60 interviewees in this research.

The process of field research, analysis, and book writing lasted approximately one year. A number of people have supported during the process as research. Here, I would like to express my appreciation to research assistants Maghfiroh Abdullah Malik (SfCG Jakarta), Leli Nurohmah (SfCG Jakarta), Anggita Paramesti (SfCG Jakarta), Utami Sandyarani (SfCG Jakarta), Nyoman Udayana Sangging (Bali), Yosef Ari Wibowo (Manado), Leo Chandra (Pontianak), Waryo (Bekasi), Mohamad Yusuf and Naily Ni'matul Illiyun. I would like to thank Mira Kusumarini (Program Director, SfCG Jakarta) and Dr. Zainal Abidin Bagir (Director of Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies/ CRCS, Gadjah Mada University) for their agreement in publishing this book. Protecting houses of worship is also a concern of CRCS which is represented in its book publications and annual reports on religious life in Indonesia.

As principal investigator and author I take responsibility for any imperfection that may exist and I am very grateful this book on the protection of the holy sites and houses of worship can be presented to our dear readers. I wish you happy reading!

The author


PENGURUS WILAYAH NAHDLATUL ULAMA
DAERAH ISTIMEWA YOGYAKARTA
Meraih Berkah
Ramadlan
Kajian Kitab Sebelum Berbuka Puasa & Setelah Tarawih
Setiap Hari Senin
Pukul 20.30 - 21.30 WIB
أبو نواس
Bersama
Ust. Suhadi Cholil, Ph.D
LIVE
NAHNU
LDNU
NU CARE-LAZISNU
D.I. YOGYAKARTA

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The large geographical part of Indonesia has always been religiously diverse. The major percentage of Indonesian population are Muslims, which is 87 %. It is considered as the largest Muslim population in the world. Christian (Protestantism, Catholicism, etc.) consists of almost 10 % of the population. Meanwhile, the rests are Hindus, Buddhist, Confucianism, and local religions or faiths. In recent decades, Indonesian population in many areas has become progressively more varied due to the development of transportation, technology and intensive migration of the population. Subsequently, inter-religious dialogue and inter-faith cooperation has been developed. Due to the same reason, tension, conflict, and violence between religious communities has occurred because there was insufficient management of diversity. Holy sites, like houses of worship and other sacred places, are quite often targeted for destruction in religious conflicts and/or they become the center of controversy that leads to and becomes potential targets or sites of violence.

Interfaith dialogue has been conducted for a long time in Indonesia at the level of civil society, government, and academia. Institutionally, inter-religious dialogue at the level of civil society was marked by the establishment of DIAN-Interfidei (Institute

for Inter-Faith Dialogue in Indonesia) in Yogyakarta in 1991 and MADIA (Dialogue Society) in Jakarta in 1995. (Banawiratma & Bagir et. al. 2010). Later, similar groups emerged in many cities or other areas at the same time or afterwards. Institute MOSINTUWU that was established in Poso in 2009 and Inter-religious Council (IRC) in Jakarta in 2010, are the two institutions, to mention few of many institutions, which engage in the inter-faith movement. Unfortunately, despite the efforts of inter-religious dialogue and cooperation, inter-religious discrimination and violence still occur in many places.

The Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS), Gadjah Mada University Graduate School, published an Annual Report on Religious Life in Indonesia from 2008 to 2012. Over the period of five years, no less than dozens of cases of violence and attacks on houses of worship occurred annually. In general, the targets were houses of worship of minority religious groups of various religions, houses of worship of the local religious belief, or a group of small sects in a religion (CRCS 2008-2012). Similar cases still happened in 2013 (CSW 2014) and in 2014 (WI 2014). Besides those houses of worship cases, Sultan Hasanuddin tomb, an Indonesian hero, in Goa South Selawesi that had been stipulated as a cultural heritage object was damaged in 2012 by unknown perpetrator(s). Moreover, Yogyakarta royal family tomb complex in Kusumanegara Yogyakarta was also destroyed in 2013 by a group of people since it was perceived as a practice place of *syirik* (infidels). These two recent cases demonstrate the vulnerability of holy sites from acts of violence.

We assume that there are some law enforcement measures to prevent acts of violence and to condemn their community against harassment of houses of worship and other holy sites. However, there is also a need to enhance better understanding at civil society level to respect and protect them. Therefore, a study or research to

discover new idea to discuss the houses of worship and holy sites is important.

Question

The cases of violence mentioned above do not only happen in Indonesia, though they are not always the case in all countries either. In the midst of conflict and war situation as in Syria and Iraq in recent years, many holy sites were destroyed or intentionally became a part of demolished places. In other countries, attacks on houses of worship and holy sites are wide-spread. Responding to this, four international organizations and various religious leaders initiated the formulation of a reference to the protection of holy sites in January 2011 called "The Universal Code of Conduct on Holy Sites" (UCCHS). The four organizations are the Oslo Center for Peace and Human Rights (OC, built in 2006), One World in Dialogue (EVID, established in 2004), Religions for Peace (RfP, established in 1970) and Search for Common Ground (SFCG, established in 1982).

After consulting with religious leaders in 2013, SFCG Indonesia began a program on holy sites in 2014, which aimed to promote the importance of strengthening public understanding about respect for places of worship and holy sites. At the onset of the program, we conducted research to improve our understanding of the houses of worship and holy sites, including holy site category and the complexity of related issues. There are three research questions that we formulated:

1. To what extent could the Universal Code of Conduct on Holy Sites be used to campaign respect and protection towards houses of worship and holy sites in Indonesia?
2. What are the perceptions and public knowledge about houses of worship and holy sites as well as their attitude towards the recognition and respect for them?

3. How does social change affect the relationship between religion and the protection of house of worship and holy sites in certain areas in Indonesia?

Research Methodology

Field research was conducted in four areas: Manado, Pontianak, Bali, and Bekasi. Each area was chosen because each of them has dominant religious population, which are: Manado (Christian), Bali (Hindu), Bekasi (Islam), and although it does not have one most dominant religious population, Pontianak, West Kalimantan has relatively large Buddhist and Confucian populations. This study applied survey, interviews, and observations methods.

The survey included respondents between 15-59 year-old and the population data was taken from the 2010 National Census. Based on the Census population data, the total population aged 15-59 is 2535470. The survey used following formula to calculate the total sample size for the survey (http://www.surveysystem.com/sample-size-formula.htm).

SS = [Z 2 * (p) * (1-p)]/c 2

Where:

Z = Z value (e.g. 1.96 for 95% confidence level)
p = percentage picking a choice, expressed as decimal (.5 used for sample size needed)
c = confidence interval, expressed as decimal (e.g., .05 = ±5)

Based on the calculation, the total sample size for the survey was calculated to be 384. We added 10% additional Sample size for non-response error, which added 38 additional respondents to calculated sample size and making the total sample size to be 422. However, the population (aged 15-59) distribution across 4 regions showed that the data is highly skewed towards Bekasi city with 71.6

percent population falling in the city alone. Thus it was imperative that we include at least one fourth (25%) population (because there are four areas included in the survey) in each sample location. Based on the original calculation of sample size the total minimum sample allocation for Bekasi city is (422*0.716) 322, whereas the sample size for remaining three cities is kept to (422*0.25) 106, regardless of sample size derived from the calculation, as it was below the required 25% mark. After finalizing the population sample for each city, the total sample size for the four regions became 620. However, the survey included 351 respondents form Bekasi city to make the total actual sample size to be 669.

Region	Total Population	Population Age 15-59 Years (Research Population)	Calculated Sample size	Adjusted Sample size
Manado city-North Celebes	410,481	254,169 (10%)	42	106
Bekasi city-West Java	2,334,871	1,814,922 (71.6%)	302	351
Klungkung district-Bali	170,542	102,915 (4%)	17	106
Pontianak city-West Kalimantan	554,764	363,464 (14.3%)	60	106
Total		2,535,470		
	Total of Minimum Sampling		422	669

Meanwhile, the interviews were conducted in each area to an average of 15 people per region, so the total people interviewed were about 60 people. Before we chose informants in each region, we created criteria of stakeholders in the holy sites protection field. They were religious leaders, interfaith activists, society leaders, scholars, and local government staffs. In consultation with the local research assistants we identified persons using those criteria for each region. In general, each interview lasted between 90 to 120

minutes with most interviews conducted individually. Occasionally, interviews were conducted with two or more people at once because the situation of group collectivity could not always be avoided in this field context.

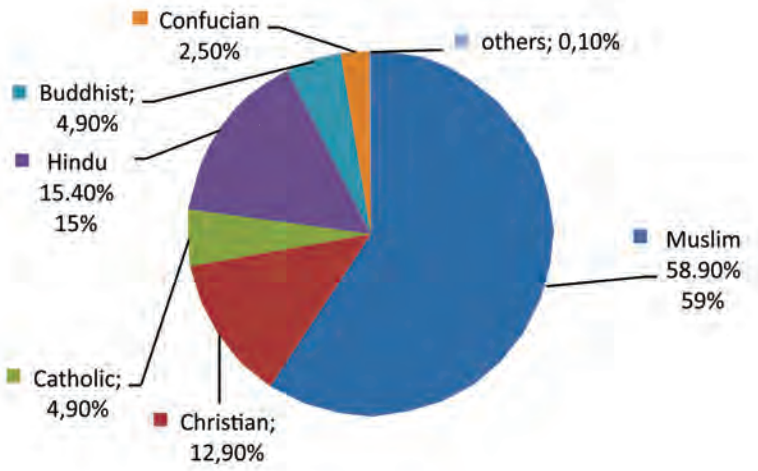
Besides interview, we also observed diverse holy sites in each region both religious holy sites and spiritual-cultural holy sites. We will discuss further about both holy sites classification in the chapter two. Meanwhile, regarding document study, we collected sources that are directly related with research concern: the holy sites, inter-religious relation, and religious life in Indonesia.

Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

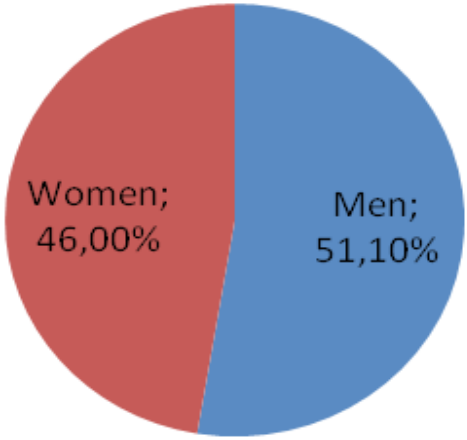
The study included 15 to 29 year-old respondents. Regarding the survey respondents' background; religion, gender, and ethnicity background, demographic characteristics, especially sex, religion and ethnic disaggregation, can be seen in graphic 1, graphic 2, and graphic 3 below. In terms of education, the respondents consisted of 61.7% high school graduates, 23.8% college graduates, and 7.0% junior high school graduates. Respondents were generally 15-19 year-old 46.0%, 20-29 year-old 32.0%, 30-39 year-old 7.2%, 40-49 year-old 5.4%, and 50-59 year-old 3.0%. In terms of professions they were mostly high school and university students (54.4%), the rest consisting of private employees, businessmen, school teachers, NGO activists, housewives, unemployed, government employees, etc. In terms of religion, as illustrated in the graphic 1, Muslims were the majority respondent as they are the largest number of respondents from Bekasi that are predominantly Islam. Muslims are also relatively spread in many locations in four other areas of research. Similarly, Hindu respondents are also quite large because the majority of respondents from Klungkung regency of Bali are Hindu, while Christians are big because in Manado they are majority religious population in Manado. In terms of ethnicity,

the majority of respondents are from Javanese background. Since Javanese population is also quite scattered in the four research areas, whereas Chinese ethnic dominated respondents from Pontianak.

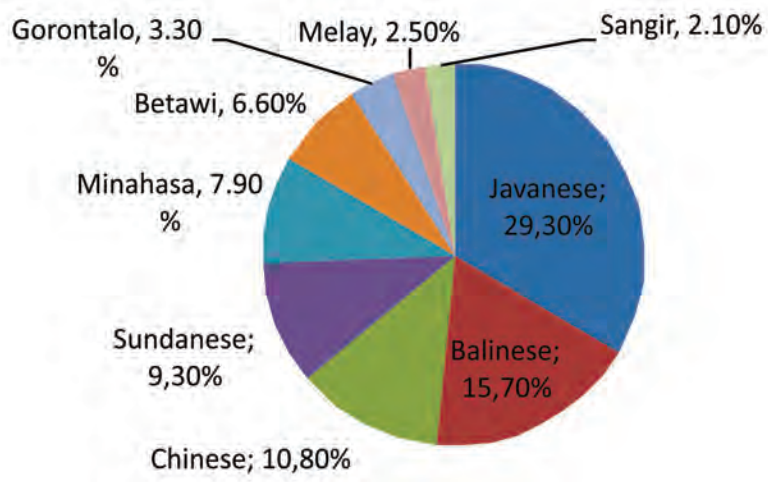
Graphic 1: Respondents based on religion



Graphic 2: Respondents by sex



Graphic 3: Respondents by ethnicity



Research Limitation

This research has some limitations as follow.

1. Readers may put this research report represents Indonesia as a whole. But in fact this research was only conducted in four areas, whereas Indonesia has 34 provinces. Despite the problems that occurred in the four regions may occur in many other areas in Indonesia, the findings of this study should be seen as dynamics in those four regions. That is why the title of this report uses the phrase "Research in four areas in Indonesia" rather than "Research in Indonesia".
2. The problems of holy sites or houses of worship in Indonesia which are not only related to religious issues but also related to social issues are sophisticated. Whereas the time that was provided for this study is quite limited. We conducted field interview in each area for only about 5 days. Although in every area we interviewed about 20 people, but it must be acknowledged that this study was not able to record the

entire complexity of the problems in the field. To address the limitation of qualitative method of this research, we also conducted quantitative method.

3. The role of religious institutions and educational institutions, such as Islamic boarding schools, in Indonesia is very important in shaping the religious identity and patterns of relationships among religious groups in society. Another limitation of this study is that we did not analyze micro level of development in those institutions.

CHAPTER II
UNIVERSAL CODE OF CONDUCT ON HOLY SITES AND INDONESIAN CONTEXT

This section answers the first research question: to what extent could "The Universal Code of Conduct on Holy Sites (UCCHS)" be used to campaign respect and protection of houses of worship and holy sites in Indonesia. It also attempts to answer one part of the second research question, which is about the people's perception and knowledge about them. The data of that last point is generated from survey and field observation.

The Universal Code of Conduct on Holy Sites

The initiators of "the Universal Code of Conduct on Holy Sites (UCCHS)" were four institutions, namely OC, EVID, RfP, and SFCG. Before the document was designated as a universal code of conduct on holy sites in January 2011, those four institutions prepared the Abrahamic Code on Holy Sites, known as the Trondheim Code in 2009. It is known as Trondheim Code since the meetings to prepare the code took place in Trondheim, Norway. The leaders of Europe and the Middle East countries committed to support the Trondheim Code. Then, the initiators and supporters of Trondheim Code wanted to expand the scope not only to religions of Abraham, but also applied to all religions or beliefs. Finally, the Trondheim Code expanded its scope and reformulated, and became "the Universal Code of Conduct on Holy Sites" in

2011 (http://www.rfp-europe.eu). In terms of content, there is no substantive difference between them.

The UCCHS text consists of three parts. The *first* section, the opening (preamble) which among others states that holy sites have recently become "foci of contention or targets" or focus of controversial or target of destruction in which the holy sites of minorities are in a vulnerable position. The existence of UCCHS is expected to frame the principles of the protection of holy sites in the world. Besides that, the UCCHS also desires holy sites to become the seedbed of peace, harmony, and reconciliation. *Second*, ten chapters, each of which provisions regarding: (a) Definition; (b) preservation of holy sites; (c) access; (d) the sacred places that are used by more than one religion; (e) conflict prevention and resolution; (f) reconstruction and memorialization; (g) expropriation and nationalization; (h) education and public lectures; (i) Establishing holy sites; and (j) excavation and research. *Third*, additional or attachment, which consists of two things: implementation and monitoring.

Here we do not have much space to discuss all provisions of UCCHS in detail. We will only discuss the issues related to the definition because it has more significant consequence. UCCHS mentions the definition of holy sites in Article 1 as follows.

> *"For the purposes of this Code, holy sites are understood as places of religious significance to particular religious communities. They include, but are not limited to, places of worship, cemeteries and shrines, incorporating their immediate surroundings when these form an integral part of the site".*

How do we translate the term holy sites from English into Indonesian? The Indonesian literal translation is *tempat-tempat suci* or *situs-situs suci*. In English, more or less, the term refers to the holy sites in connection to religious sites. While in Indonesian language

it is not always the case. Holy sites are also associated with customs and at the same time culture. Religion, customs, and culture often overlap with each other. That is why it is possible to translate the holy sites into *tempat-tempat suci agama* (religious sacred places). Considering the complexity of translation problems, I recommend *tempat-tempat suci* (sacred places), without affixing the word "religion" that may be selected by other translators. We used this translation to provide opportunities for local religions, beliefs, and possible mixing identities among religions, customs, and cultures in Indonesian context. Nevertheless for the development of post-research program we can select any strategic terms by considering the broad public acceptance.

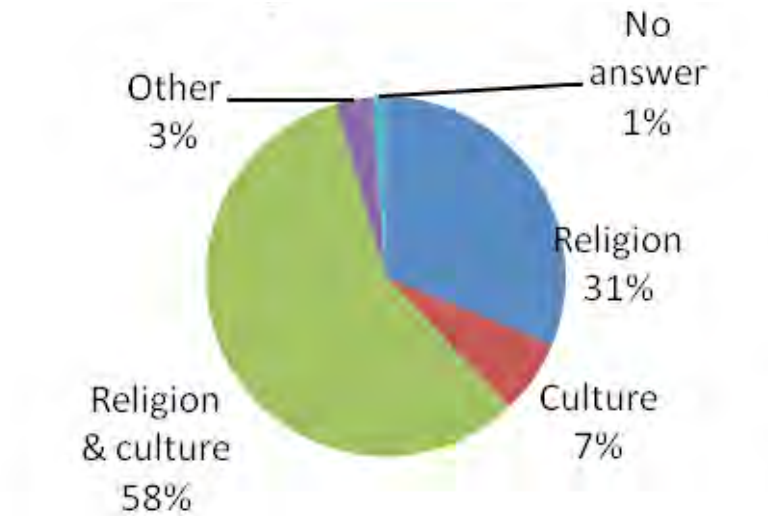
The houses of worship in Indonesia until today sometimes still become the "foci of contention" either inter-religiously or intra-religiously. The UCCHS existence should enrich the conversation about houses of worship and holy places in Indonesia. Along with the legal drafting process on the Protection for Religious People *(Rancangan Undang-undang Perlindungan Umat Beragama/* RUU PUB) that is happening currently in Indonesia, we do hope that the campaign on UCCHS significance can enrich not only the spirit of the idea "to manage", but at the same time also to develop the spirit of "to protect" the house of worship and holy places, particularly for minority religions and beliefs that are vulnerable. In addition to making it as problem solving of the conflict, the UCCHS develops a perspective that puts the house of worship and holy sites as place of peace, harmony, and reconciliation. In relation to that idea, we can build a positive image of diversity of holy sites in the archipelago that its best practices may easily be found in many cities and regions such as *mapalus* tradition (helping each other, including between different religions) in building houses of worship in Manado, which will be discussed

further in Chapter III.

Holy Sites in Indonesian Context

According to our findings, there are two kinds of holy sites in the context of Indonesian society: "houses of worship" *(rumah ibadah)* and "places of pilgrimage" *(tempat-tempat ziarah)*. Our survey proves that people in general do not separate religious and cultural identity strictly in constructing what they regard as holy places. When we asked them "do they think the holy sites are related to religion, culture, or both?", most respondents linked the holy sites with both "religion and culture"(58%) as well, and then "religious" only (31%) and "culture" only (7%). The choice to "religion" only is higher than the "culture" only will be a consistent pattern in many other things when we provide the two options for respondents.

Graphic 4: The link between holy sites with religion and culture



As shown in the graph above, the district disaggregation of data shows a striking finding in which the choice of "religion

and culture" from high to low percentage as follows: Bali 86.8%; Pontianak 68.9%; Manado 67%; and Bekasi 42%.

As might be predicted, the house of worship is placed as a sacred place for the respondents. Respondents who regularly visit their "house of worship": 37.5% of respondents mention every day and 28.4% of them choose one or two times a week. The research provides five answers in the questionnaire about what is seen as a concrete example of a sacred place outside the house of worship. When asked what the respondents put as the "most sacred" among the holy sites? Their answers were: "the grave of saint/ clergy/ religious missionary" is in the first place (39.6%). Then sequentially from high to low: "sites of religious history" (21.1%), ancestral graves (12.9%), local cultural sites (8.2%), and local beliefs sites (3.4%).

a. House of Worship

In the perspective of religious studies, the "house of worship" usually refers to the concept of "sacred place" that is differentiated with profane place. From the religious studies perspective, the meaning of sacred place is very liquid and the understanding about space itself is not uniform. James C. Levingston gives examples of sacred places, among others, the Kaaba for Muslims in Mecca, the *stupa* for Buddhists in India and Sri Lanka, Mount Zion in Jerusalem for Jews, and Mount Fuji for the followers of Shinto in Japan. (Livingston 2009: 42-49). In Indonesia, for example in Java, sacred place can also mean *pundhen* of villages scattered in many villages and some of them are still respected by the people. Another example is a place where there is a large trees purified by people in the mountain area of Sempu, Bantul, Yogyakarta. (Ricklefs 2012: 214, 453) Unfortunately, due to limited space and for more focused purpose, without ignoring the importance of such sacred places, this study can only pay attention to the house of worship, which means the physical building as it has been popular in the community. The

houses of worship in this research are also limited to the six state recognized religions in Indonesia: Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Normatively, the house of worship in the existing regulation (the PBM) is defined as "a building that has certain characteristics specifically used for worship for the followers of each religion permanently, not including the family place of worship". (Article 1 Point 3 PBM Minister of Religious Affairs and the Minister of the Domestic Affairs No. 8 and No. 9 in 2006) By excluding the family place of worship, according to the government, a house of worship has function as a public space, not a private space.

If the PBM emphasizes parochial aspects of house of worship for each religion, the UCCHS gives opportunities for a house of worship to be used by people of different religions. The UCCHS concern in this regard is to guarantee that "adherents of each community are ensured access to the site for religious purposes and preservation of the site is the equal responsibility of the religious communities concerned". (Article 4 UCCHS) This point is very relevant to Indonesian context, such as for Tridharma temples, which is used together by Buddhists, Confucians, and Taoists. At this point it must be recognized that the UCCHS is more appropriate rather than the PBM for the dynamics of Indonesian society.

Recently, Confucianism is recognized as one of the six state recognized religions by government. Afterwards, there are tendencies in the field that the Klenteng temple (Confucian house of worship) wanted to secede from the Vihara temple (Buddhist house of worship). For about more than thirty years the Klenteng temples had to transform themselves into Vihara temples to keep getting permission from the government in the New Order era. But in practice it is not always easy to secede because it is also related to the asset, which is a sensitive issue for both parties. Currently

there are many places of worship named by Vihara temple both of which become a place of worship shared among the followers of Confucius, Buddha, as well as Tao, or the holy place which is likely to become only as a house of worship of Confucians. (Interview with WS. Nusan Candra and Adinatha, January 22, 2015; interview with Sakandi Talok, December 24, 2014) As the tendency of Confucius temple to become stand alone, recently appeared also a particular place of worship for the people of Tao called Tao Kwan. The Sinar Cerah Tao Kwan was inaugurated in 2010 and is the first Tao Kwan in Pontianak.

Picture 1: Klenteng temple of Hok Lay Kiong and Vihara temple of Budha Dharma In the form of two connected buildings in Bekasi city

Picture 2: Jami' Sultan Abdurrahman mosque in Pontianak.
Its building process started in 1821. The building size is 33,27 m x 27,74 m

Picture 3: The Altar of Catholic Cathedral church in Pontianak.
This huge church was renovated entirely and was just inaugurated in 2014

Many houses of worship were built by their followers in the midst of a plural religious society without any problems. Sometimes, religious minority groups meet challenges from religious majority groups in some regions in building new houses of worship. We can see any houses of worship either old or new ones in three regions of our research fields (Manado, Pontianak, and Bekasi). Many of the old houses of worship are still well preserved until now. This shows those houses of worship are accepted by society.

In general, the house of worship building of a religion has a characteristic that can be easily recognized by the public as house of worship of a particular religion. However, because of art and architecture development, or because of the intention to adapt into local culture, the house of worship building of certain religions do not always have the same characteristic. A lot of churches and mosques in Bali adapted the Balinese architecture, thus to some extent they share same elements with Hindu temple architecture.

Picture 4: Al-Hikmah mosque with Balinese architecture in Denpasar, Bali

An interesting phenomenon in many places of Indonesia is that many houses of worship of different religions are close to each other. This shows people of different religions live side by side harmoniously. They become symbol of inter-religious harmony and cohesiveness in the city concerned.

Picture 5: Vihara temple of Tri Dharma Bumi Raya in Singkawang is located close to Singkawang Great Mosque in West Kalimantan

Picture 6: GKPB Protestant church building is beside

The Buddhist vihara temple in Puja Mandala center of worship house complex.

In addition to these two houses of worship, there is also a mosque, a Catholic church,

and a Hindu temple. These five houses of worship are located in the same location side by side.

In addition to houses of worship that neighboring each other, we can look at similar elements used by different religious communities in the different houses of worship. For instance, water and incense are used in the houses of worship of many religions during rituals. In addition, there are similar traditional drums *(bedug)* in several houses of worship. These equations can be used as a starting point for dialogue among religions which according to terms in UCCHS as a space of peace, harmony, and reconciliation of diverse holy sites.

Picture 7: Ablution place before prayers in Jihad mosque, Pontianak city

Picture 9: Stoups, the place of holy water in front of Catholic Cathedral door in Denpasar, Bali

Picture 8: Traditional drum in Vihara/ Klenteng temple of Bodhisatva Karaniya Metta, Pontianak city

Picture 10:
Traditional drum
in Al-Barkah Great
Mosque, Bekasi city

a. Places of Pilgrimage

In many religions there are places that become pilgrimage destinations outside their house of worship. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that polemic exists in each respective religions whether those places are considered as sacred or not. Some religious groups prohibit the practice of pilgrimages to sacred places which theologically perceived as heretic. Through our observation, the term "places of pilgrimage" in Indonesian context covers several pilgrimage places at once, such as: (a) the Mary cave and the way of cross for Catholics; (b) the tombs of saints, missionaries, and religious leaders which are revered in many religions; and (c)

the tombs of the ancestors in many faith traditions; (d) the old sites (usually physically they are stones) among some Hindus in Bali, or places of pilgrimage for indigenous traditions which are still respected. We assume respecting shrines of a particular religious group is a part of inter-religious and intra-religious tolerance as well.

Picture 11: Ancestral graves of Chinese in Pontianak.
The Chinese are known for honoring their ancestors.

Picture 12: A cross at the Queen of Peace Lover way of the cross Catholic pilgrimage in Anjungan, West Kalimantan

Picture 13: The pilgrimage place of Raden Ayu Siti Khotijah grave in Pemecutan Bali

Picture 12 is of a Catholic pilgrimage site, while picture 13 (a grave of a Muslim female saint) is a place of pilgrimage for both Muslims and Hindus. In addition to religious pilgrimage places, there are some places of pilgrimage that are not specifically linked to religion in particular. For example, as we found in the observation, there is a spiritual pilgrimage aside of 'world religious' tradition which is often visited by people in North Sulawesi, which is the site of Watu Pinawetengan in Minahasa.

Picture 14: The pilgrimage site of Watu Pinawetengan in Pinabetengan village, Tompaso, Minahasa, North Sulawesi

Experts and the guard of this site mentioned that Watu Pinawetengan contains an agreement among four major sub-tribes of Minahasan ancestors regarding land distribution. Those four sub-tribes are Tombulu, Tonsea-Tewoh, Tonkimbut, and Tountumaratas as the host (Wuisang 2014: 187; interview with Ari, December 17, 2014). They also said that this system of land sharing agreement

represents a democratic system in Minahasa from thousands of years ago. The democratic process for indigenous people of Minahasa could not be separated from religion nor spirituality that grew from then. In the mandate of Watu Pinawetengan *(Nuwu I tu'a and Nuwu I Ngeluan)* it was mentioned that agreements which they have achieved must put God at the center of everything: ... *Ta'ankawisa to we'emioandekenempused e opo*(... However, at any time, put in your heart (mind) God is the center of everything). The full version of Watu Pinawetengan mandate is illustrated in Table 1 below. The next two tables show the public perception of Watu Minahasa Pinawetengan holy site. Among others, the tables say about places like "Rano I kasuruan" which has a function as a holy place and "Watu Tumotowa" that serves as an altar to call Opo Empung, God.

Table 1: The mandate of Watu Pinawetengan
(Source: Wuisang 2014: 188)

Nuwu I tu'a:	
Sapakem si kayoba'an anio	(It is the Minahasa Land)
Tana ta imbaya!	(our homeland)
Asi endo makasa	(one day in the future)
Sa ma'em si ma'api	(when "ma'api" come (the bird Manguni)
Wetengan e pa'tuusan	(will be divided by "wetengan" (the leader)
Wetengan eng kayoba'an	(the leaders divided the land)
Tumani e kumeter	(spread out (to be independent)
Mapar e waraney	(snatch o yee the warrior)
Akad se tu'us tumow o tumow toow	(until descendant grow (bring life) for other people)
Nuwu I Ngeluan:	
Sa kita esa, sumerar kita	(when we are assembled, we firmly united)
Sa kita sumerar, esa kita	(If we have firmed, we are one)
Tumani e toutumuwu	(Make efforts in pioneering and be autonomous)
Am bawaya, sapake' em pataled, sarun sia	(Altogether, when we meet anything, then face it!)
En natenu, karengan pute ong kakete-l watu anio	(Your heart is as hard as this stone)
Ambisa ke eng kateka'an mu, mapat ko	(Where ever you are, take the authority)
Ta'an kawisa ke we'e mio andeken em-pused e Opo	(However, at anytime, put in your heart (your mind) God is the centre of everything)

Table 2: The perception of Minahasa people regarding the holy site of Watu Pinawetengan (Source: Wuisang 2014: 190)

Associated names	Functional of place	Implication and values
Watu Kaposanan/Poposanan	A place to give offering in a ceremonial/rite (*posan* or *pelii* = *pamali* or prohibited)	The ancestors *Toar* and *Lumimu'ut* received blessing to have descendants given by *Empung Wailan wangko*
Watu Pinawetengan Watu Pinerbagean Pinawetengan I Nuwu	A place of ethnic devision and land territories	The Minahasan Land has been divided into 9 sub-ethnic communities and so, divided the language
Rano I kasuruan	A holy place	Many people were healed through the traditional practice "*makatana*"
Watu Pinasungkulan	A meeting and assembly place	The first concept of democracy applied to Minahasa and (possibly) to Indonesia
Watu Pinaesa'an	An assembly place of ancestors from the 9 different sub-ethnic groups	Emotional bond and connection as Minahasan community
Watu Tumotowa	A predominant natural stone altar to call *Opo Empung* – The God.	*Fosso* and rites to ask God/*Opo Empung* for immunity, strength and safety before travelling outside of the homeland
Watu Rerumétan ni Empung	Ancestors' sitting place to ponder internal and external problems which occurred in Minahasa land	A place for assembling and making decisions
"Maka une-uner antanak ne Mahasa"	A place for Minahasan leaders to negotiate and pledge	Unification of all sub-ethnics

Lately, there is some development to revive ceremonies or rituals in Watu Pinawetengan. The most prominent institution in Watu Pinawetengan revitalization is the Institute for North Celebes Arts and Culture *(Institut Seni dan Budaya Sulawesi Utara)*. In annual festival of Watu Pinawetengan, hundreds of participants would join the ritual wearing Minahasa traditional dress. However, the festival of Watu Pinawetengan is not without criticism. There are challenges, including from Christian leaders. Priest Cardo Renwarin who is involved in the festival received harsh criticism, including open criticism in the media. The Christian leaders accused him for mixing up teachings of Christianity or Catholicism

with indigenous traditions that contradict the Christian theology, such as shamanic traditions and ceremonies in trance (interview with Cardo Renwarin, December 17, 2014).Here we can see an attempt to revive the pilgrimage site sometimes causes controversy in the society.

CHAPTER III
SOCIAL CHANGE, INTER-RELIGIOUS RELATIONS AND PROTECTION OF THE HOLY SITES

This section elaborates the answer of the research question about how does social change affect the relationship between religions and the protection of houses of worship and holy sites in certain areas of Indonesia. Based on the literature and the research conducted as well as previous research on the four regions, the general conclusion is as follows.

First, houses of worship in Bekasi and Bali faces some problems, although the characteristic of issue in both places is different. Violence occurred in Bekasi, but it did not happen in Bali. Examples of problems related to houses of worship in Bekasi are: the case of HKBP Filadelfia, HKBP church Ciketing, the attack on St. Albertus church, Galilee church, and an Ahmadiyya mosque, al-Misbah (CSW 2014; CRCS UGM 2010; CRCS-UGM 2012). In Bali, Muslims mainly have difficulties building new houses of worship. It is associated with strict rules in Balinese villages and spatial planning in Bali. What can generally be done by Muslims in Bali is building *musholla* (a small chapel). After Bali bombings in the early 2000s, renovating old mosques has also become more difficult (Data Center CRCS UGM 2013). Members of new sects of Hinduism also meet difficulty to build new Hindu temples.

Second, acts of violence outside houses of worship have sometimes occurred in Bekasi. For example, the expulsion of a spiritual figure from his place, attacks against schools affiliated to a particular religion, and the forced demolition of a statue. On the contrary, such things rarely happened in three other cities (Bali, Manado, and Pontianak). One similar event occurred in Singkawang, West Kalimantan, related to the demands to dismantle a statue. At that time an Islamic paramilitary group demanded the demolition of dragon statue in an intersection of Singkawang city. Fortunately, the problem was resolved without violence and the dragon statue still stands until now. Conversely, in Bekasi, a statue was forced to be uninstalled (CRCS UGM 2009; CRCS UGM 2010).

Third, large-scale violence occurred in West Kalimantan over a period of approximately fifteen years and had a very strong ethnic element. In late 1996 and early 1997 a severe violent conflict occurred between Dayak and Madurese ethnic groups, in which no less than 500 people died. Shortly after, in 1999, similar conflict occurred again in Sambas between Malay and Madurese ethnic groups, which also resulted in the death of hundreds of people (Muhrotien 2014). If we look back, in 1967, violent conflicts also occurred –even though there was a strong political motive in conjunction with the mass killing of people suspected as communists in many other places of Indonesia-- between Dayak and Chinese ethnic groups. Shifting an actor conflict based on ethnic in West Kalimantan confirms that the conflict in that area on one hand is not linear in terms of ethnicity. On the other hand, the conflict and violence in West Kalimantan does not have a strong element of religious identity. In the conflict between Malays and Madurese ethnic group, both groups are Muslims (interview with Zaenuddin, December 22, 2014).

Up to this point, we may conclude briefly that among four cities, North Sulawesi in general or Manado in particular has

the highest degree of religious and ethnic cohesiveness. Then the second most cohesive region is Bali. Although there are problems in terms of houses of worship, but when considering the absence of violence, Bali can be said to be the second cohesive region after North Sulawesi. Both Bekasi and West Kalimantan have a history of conflict and violence, but the characteristics are different. From the side of the victims, the violence in West Kalimantan is more massive and inflicted more casualties. The conflict frequency did not occur quickly in a short time. Meanwhile, in Bekasi the kind of conflict occurred is smaller in scale, but quite often reoccurs. Because there was a quite strong religious element in the case of the conflict in Bekasi, but not in the case in West Kalimantan, then in the context of holy sites protection, Bekasi would be of more concern in this research.

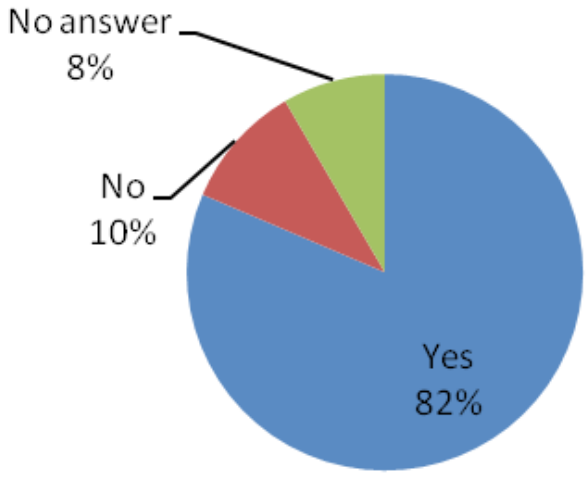
Religious Diversity and Inter-religion Interaction

As explained in Chapter I, the four research areas are multi-religious and multi-ethnic regions. That is why diverse inter-religious and ethnic interactions is daily phenomenon that is experienced easily by people in those areas. Nevertheless, there is a different composition of population based on religion and ethnicity in these four areas. The religion composition in Manado is the most dynamic with the greatest religions that is Christianity (Protestant and Catholic), as much as 67.12%, while the Muslims in second place amounted to 31.30%. In terms of ethnicity, Pontianak classified as the most dynamic, in which the composition of its population is not dominated by any dominant ethnic groups namely, Chinese 31.24%, 26.57% Malays, Bugis 13.12%, and 11.67% Java (Census 2010). In Bali generally the most dominant religion is Hindus, while in Bekasi, Muslim population is very large.

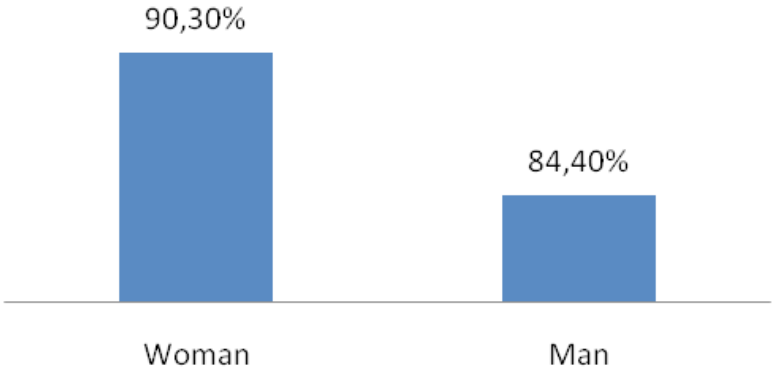
With such common background, most of the respondents stated they had friends of different religions, as many as 81.5%; and those who do not have friends of different religions amounted

to 10.2% as shown in the graphic 5. The next graphic shows the interesting fact that women have slightly more friends of different religions than men: women 90.3% and men 84.4%.

Graphic 5: Respondents have or have no friends of different religion



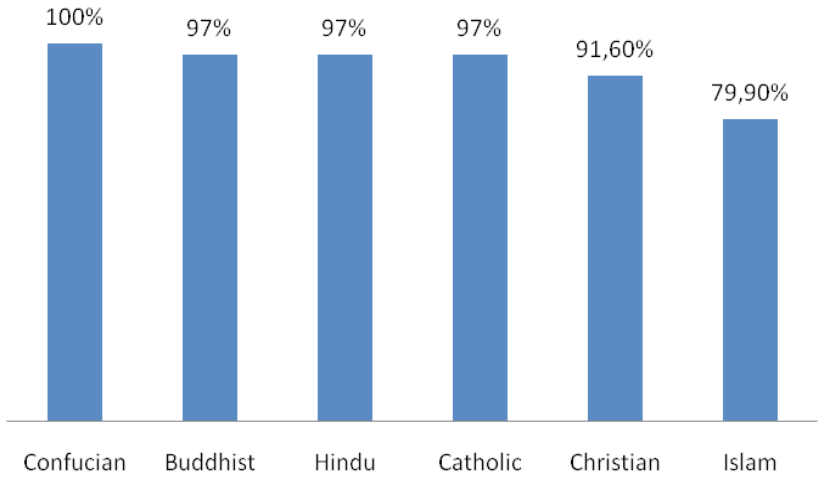
Graphic 6: Respondents have friends of different religions based on gender



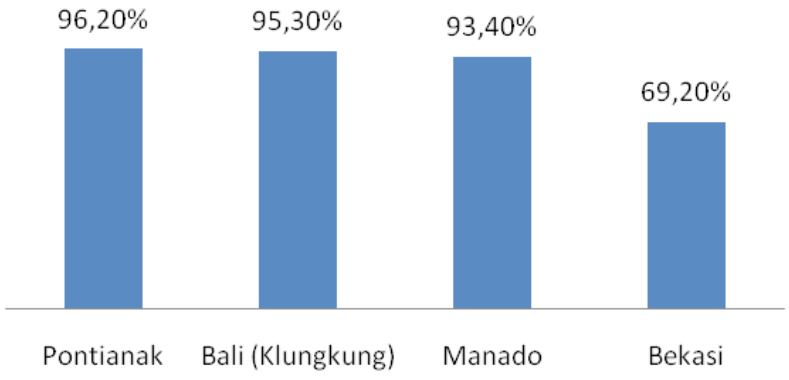
In terms of religion this shows that the Muslim respondents have the lowest friends of different religions (79.9%) and the highest is Confucian (100%). Then, when viewed from the area,

the lowest is Bekasi (69.2%) and the highest is Pontianak (96.2%) as envisaged in the two graphics below.

Graphic 7: Respondents who have friends of different religions based on respondents' religion



Graphic 8: Respondents who have friends of different religions based on region



Graphic 8 shows that a high level of respondents has friends of different religions in all regions. In the area that has the lowest level of friends of different religions, Bekasi, more than two-thirds of respondents still have friends of different religions.

Of those who have friends of different religions, 67.6% had visited the house of people of different religions in the last three years. While those who had never visited the house of people of different religions in the past three years are 17.3%. The rest of 8.5% did not remember, and 6.6% did not answer. Cross-tabulation of gender, religion, and region shows a relatively consistent pattern. Those who had ever visited the house of people of different religions in the last three years amounted to 74% are of female respondents and 72% are of male respondents. While the Muslim respondents who have ever visited the house of people of different religions are 65.1%; Hindu 73.3%; Confucians 76.5% 84.8% Catholic; Christian 88%; and Buddhist 90.9%. In terms of regions recorded respondents from Bekasi who had ever visited the house of people of different religions are 55.8%; Bali 71.7%; Pontianak Manado 79.2% and 90.6%.

The experience of visiting houses of worship of other religions is part of the experience of interfaith interactions. As presented in Chapter II, respondents' visit to their own house of worship and religious holy sites are very high. Meanwhile respondents experience to visit the house of worship or holy sites of other religions is low. A question was asked; have you ever visit a house of worship or holy sites of other religions in the last 3 years? The answer is as follows. There were 39% stating "yes" and 37.8% "no". The rest 17.0% did not remember and 6.1% did not fill in this point. For those who answered "yes", when asked further what is the purpose of visiting house of worship or holy sites of other religions unfortunately 45.6% of respondents did not fill in the answers. Even though the respondents who filled in only 54.4%, we think it is very interesting to display their answers as described in the following table.

Table 3: The purpose of visiting house of worship or holy sites of other religion(s)

Answer choice	(%)
For personal knowledge	20,9
For the sake of religion/ spiritual purposes	10,9
For tourism purpose	9,7
As part of education activity/ school activities	4,6
In order to accompany friends of other faiths to worship (prayer)	4,5
Following inter-religious exchange program/ dialogue activity	1,2
Others	2,5

Up to this point, the desire to fulfill personal knowledge when people visit house of worship or holy sites of other religions is the highest purpose compared to other purposes. Visiting the house of worship/ religious holy sites for the purpose of inter-religious/ spiritual is also relatively rather large. The low point of educational purposes/ school activity indicates a possible rarity of such programs in our formal education. Following inter-religious exchange program/ dialogue activity is also low in which possibly the respondents rarely follow dialogue programs or another possibility is that the dialogue institutions rarely program visits to house of worship or holy sites of other religions.

In many places of Indonesia, modernity and development influence the decreasing level of direct interaction between individuals. Kadek Chandra tells the shift of three generations in his village in Gelgel, Klungkung, Bali. In addition to the basic old, large, and well respected Hindus temple in Gelgel, there is also an old mosque built by Muslim community since the 14th century. At the time of Mr. Chandra's parents with the very strong culture and agricultural earning, interactions between individuals in Gelgel

village were very intensive. Most people in the village, Hindus and Muslims alike, interacted directly in the rice field while working or in the civic meetings in the village. The interaction here means the interaction between religious communities.

Picture 15: A woman crossing the street after worshiping at Dasar Buana temple In Gelgel, Klungkung, Bali. We can see the minaret of Nurul Huda mosque from the front of Dasar Buana temple.

Meanwhile in generation of Mr. Chandra, the situation started to extinct. People in the village have started working as clerks or traders outside the village. Subsequently, most of the villagers seldom interact directly. Nevertheless, most of them are still going to the same school at elementary and junior high school. Thus, people with different religions could experience to co-exist

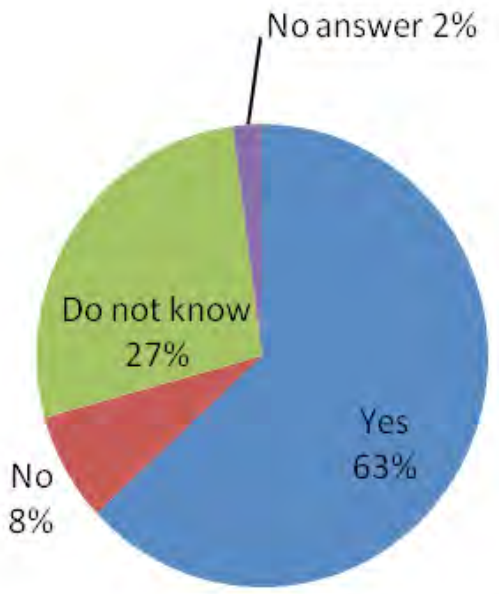
and make friendship at school. Furthermore, residents also still quite often meet in civic gatherings. That situation is different with the current development. After Islamic Elementary School (at primary level) and Islamic Junior high school/MTs (at secondary level) under the auspices of Hassanuddin foundation established some years ago, Muslim children tend to go to Islamic schools. As the result, new generations in Gelgel village have rare experience in interacting with each other. Among few events where they could see each other are arts events in the village, such as Indonesian independence commemoration on August 17 (interview with Kadek Chandra, January 20th, 2014). This development does not only occur in Bali, but also in other three research areas. We found generally that there is a decreasing level of direct interaction between people due to the cultural shift from agrarian society to industrial society and the establishment of religious schools in many regions. In Bekasi, which will be discussed in more detail later, the development is more difficult because of the massive migration problems into Bekasi city.

Religious Understanding, Cultural Adaptation, and the Role of Civic Association

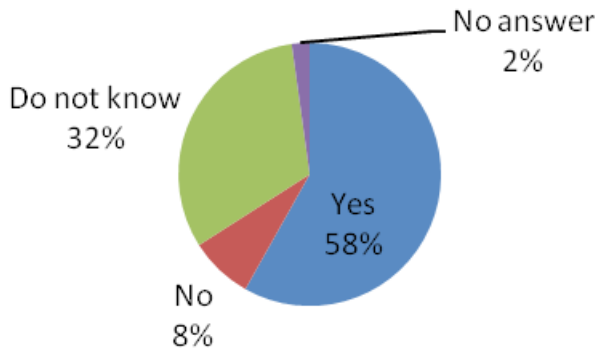
This chapter was opened by comparing facts of conflict in four research locations, including acts of violence towards houses of worship. It was mentioned that there is a problem of houses of worship in Bekasi and Bali, but issues in both places are different. Violence occurred in Bekasi, but it did not happen in Bali. In this sub-chapter, the question is how the religious understanding of respondents regarding respect for houses of worship or holy sites of other religions? The next question is, how does the society adapt and negotiate with social changes that are happening to maintain social coexistence? Finally, how is the role of civil society or associations of citizens in creating inter-religious coexistence that affect the protection of holy sites?

When asked whether respondents' religious understanding supports the appreciation toward the existence of house of worship or holy sites of other religions, as illustrated in Graphic 9 below, the majority of respondents (63%) replied "yes" or expressed their appreciation. While 8% of respondents answered "no". A number of respondents who chose "do not know" or can be said to be hesitant were quite high (27%). Those responded "do not know" maybe they felt that they did not master the understanding of their religions, so they were hesitant to give a definitive answer "yes" or "no". When the appreciation object was changed from "other religions" to "other beliefs (local beliefs)", the percentage who answered "yes" decreased to 5% and who answered "do not know" increased 5%, as illustrated in the graphic 10.

Graphic 9: Respondents' religious understanding supports the appreciation toward houses of worship or holy sites of other religions



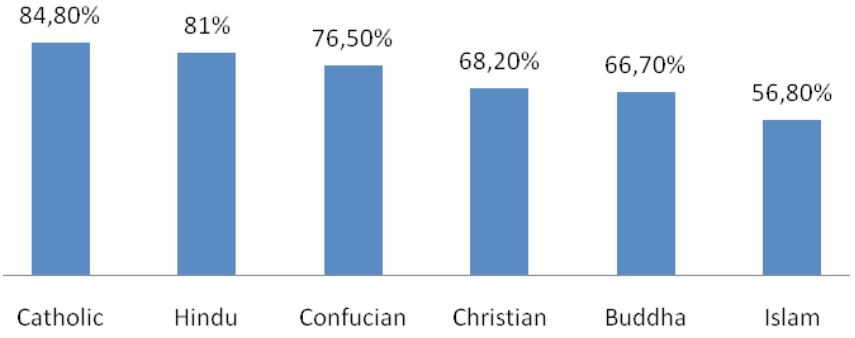
Graphic 10: Respondents' religious understanding supports the appreciation of houses of worship or holy sites of (local) beliefs

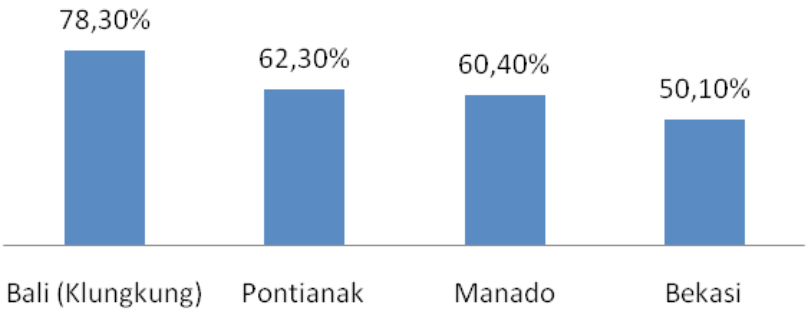


Regarding gender, there is no striking difference whether respondents' religious understanding support appreciation of houses of worship or holy sites of other religions or not. Approval of women is 2.8% higher than men. But there are interesting findings regarding religion and region bases as shown in the graphic 11 and the graphic 12.

Graphic 11: Religious understanding of respondents supports the appreciation toward house of worship or holy sites of other religions based on respondents' religion

Graphic 12: Religious understanding of respondents supports the appreciation toward house of worship or holy sites of other religions based on region





Graphic 12 shows an interesting fact. In Bali, more or less there are some difficulties to build new houses of worship for all religions recently. However, there exists an understanding that respondents' religion supports the appreciation toward house of worship or holy sites of other religions. Therefore we may conclude that the prevailing ban may not be associated with understanding against houses of worship or holy sites of other religions that may have been existed, but in the nature of new establishment of houses of worship. Concerning the house of worship, Balinese consider that Bali has too many houses of worship already. Therefore there is no need to build a new house of worship, including temples for Hindus. This is confirmed by a Hindus discussion participant from Bali in SFCG's seminar in Jakarta (Mrs. Nyoman's statement in seminar of the Opportunities and Challenges for Protection of Holy Sites in Indonesia by SFCG in Jakarta on March 31, 2015).

Social change as a result of migration does not always cause the emergence of conflict. A particular analysis on migration will be explained in the next sub chapter. It depends on the ability of communities to situate themselves with the exiting local culture. On the surface, there seems to be a pressure for newcomers to adapt the culture that has been established, but the explanation in this section will show a certain level of indigenous people are also encouraged to adapt to the social changes that are happening. Even

though it is still lower than Bekasi, we could say that number of migrants entering Denpasar city are also high (52.68%). In this case it is interesting to compare newcomers' adaptation ability to the local culture in Bekasi and in Bali. In general, newcomers in Bekasi have less desire to adapt to the culture of Bekasi. Even though efforts to revitalize the culture of Bekasi have started (Sopandi 2012), Bekasi traditional cultural identity has not been formed yet. The culture of Bekasi is still at a crossroads between Betawi culture and Sundanese culture (Interview with Nungki, January 26, 2015).

The situation is quite different from what happened in Bali, including in Denpasar city. Bali has a very strong cultural identity that encourages cultural strategy of Balinese people in dealing with migrants and tourism industry, which has grown very rapidly since the 1970s. And the other way is true, the migrants try to adapt to the culture. In some respects there are similarities in the field of narrative concerning marginalization of native people of Bali by migrants, particularly in Denpasar and Badung regency. Many lands and hotels in Denpasar and Badung regency are owned not by the native people of Bali (interview with Nyoman Udayana, on January 22, 2015). In other regencies of Bali, marginalization is found not in large business sectors, but in small and medium sectors instead, such as carpentry, commerce, and other jobs that rely on high tenacity (interview with Nadlah, January 22, 2015).

Although marginalization happens in some economic sectors due to the high levels of migration (both people and capital migration), the strong Balinese culture encourages a sense of belonging of toward their own territory. Because of a strong need to maintain the culture, Balinese try to get around Balinese culture in dealing and negotiating with the insistence of tourism. It can be seen for example in the classification of three types of dances in Bali. First, *wali* dancing. It is religious, sacred dance that does not content aspects of entertainment at all. Its purpose is

for worshiping solely. Second, *bebali* dancing that is classified as both sacred and entertaining dance. Third, *balih-balihan* dancing that is a non-religious and is only for entertainment purposes. The performance of these three types of dances could be similar, but they have different goals (interview with Gede Arya Sugiartha, on January 21, 2015 and Gede Suwindia, on January 21, 2015). Therefore, Balinese people still show more or less the same dance in front of tourists as when they dance in sacred moments. But what they perform for the purpose of tourism have been "manipulated". This shows that indigenous people also adapt and negotiate in dealing with development and social change.

Migrants adaptation to Balinese culture is also reflected in *bale banjar* construction in several housing complex, which are generally occupied by migrants. In general, in Bali villages, *bale banjar* that belongs to *desa adat* (*adat* village) is designed to the interests of indigenous people who are Hindu. To some extents, *bale banjar*s functions as the place to conduct religious events. After several multicultural and multi religious housing complexes are developed, then there is a strategy to establish a *bale banjar* with more pluralistic and multicultural function. For example, *bale banjar* is not only to commemorate or celebrate Hindu religious ceremonies, but also to celebrate Eid-Fitr for Muslims or Christmas for Christians (interview with Gede Arya Sugiartha, on January 21, 2015).

Balinese usually expect (And they would be happy if it happens) houses of worship to adapt some proportion of Balinese architectural model, such as in the case of Al-Hikmah mosque in Denpasar (interview with Nadlah and Any Hani'ah, on January 22, 2015). At this point, migration and social change do not always create conflict, including conflict of houses of worship. It depends on the ability of every party in the community to adapt and negotiate with each other. In Bali, in fact, the problem still

exists. Migrants sometimes must suppress their desire to build a new house of worship.

Rizal Panggabean (2014) conducted a research and wrote a paper about why violence happened in Ambon, but not in Manado? In his research, Panggabean refers to the theory proposed by Ashutosh Varshney (2002) to see why there is violence in a region and not elsewhere in India. Varsney stressed the importance of civic association role in preventing violence in society. The essence of Panggabean's research findings in Manado is the presence of civic associations running effectively that could transform differences and potential conflict into peace. Meanwhile, positive civic associations have existed for a long time in Ambon, but had faded after the first communal conflict occurred in 1999 in that city.

In Bekasi, civic associations seem to be weak to deal with big challenges as a consequence of diverse society, which is increasingly complex. In the midst of widespread emergence of mass organizations and hard-line religious movements, there is NU, which has tolerant idea. For example, Ansor, the youth wing of NU, in cooperation with the Police launched a campaign of religious tolerance through music. However, it is hard for NU, which is not mainstream in Bekasi to encounter religious tendency of other groups that are extreme. Civic associations in rural and/or village also do not run effectively. The situation is very different in Manado or North Sulawesi in general. When people come from different villages and mountains of North Sulawesi migrate to Manado city, they still keep their traditional cultures. Since many residents in villages and towns still have clan relationship (family), individuals still easily communicate one another because of the clan ties in the city (interview with Maria Heny Pratiknjo, on December 15, 2014). Its influence on the protection of places of worship is very apparent.

In Manado, houses of worship of certain religions are not

merely the responsibility of that religious community, but a shared responsibility. In general, there is local wisdom called *mapalus* (cooperation) in North Sulawesi. Initially, this tradition grows among agrarian society, which is used to exert power of mutual collaborating in agricultural activities. (Pratiknjo 2012: 81) Although the community is already urbanized, *mapalus* tradition is still alive.

The influence of *mapalus* tradition is reflected in the establishment of houses of worship. For example, if there is a plan to build a mosque, then it would not only be Muslims who build and finance it, but the Christians as well. Conversely, if there is a plan to build a church, it would not only be the Christians who build and finance it, but the Muslims as well. The spirit of *mapalus* also influences the way they maintain plural houses of worship. Thus the security of houses of worship is not only the responsibility of the certain religion believer, but a shared responsibility across religions (interview with Philip Regar, on December 15, 2014).

Nevertheless, *mapalus* tradition does not occur in all cases of establishment of houses of worship. Sometimes, internal tensions occurred within Christians themselves, as new sects come up and they also establish their own churches. For example, there was a tension between the leader of GMIM (Evangelical Christian Church in Minahasa) and the leader of Bethel church because of the construction of new Bethel church adjacent to the church of GMIM, although the tension did not turn to violence (interview with Iwan Runtunuwu, on December 16, 2014). *Mapalus* practice in building houses of worship that exists in Manado --does not take place in Bekasi, Bali, and Pontianak-- becomes an added value for inter-faith relation in Manado and makes inter-religious situation there different with other three areas. The role of civil society associations, including inter-religious association played by the Association Body for Interfaith Cooperation (BKSAUA)

of North Sulawesi, also plays a significant role in establishing and maintaining Manado as a peaceful place.

Migration, Vulnerability and Violence

The strong migration and its aftermath in Bekasi have influenced the loosening of social relations in the society. Weak civic associations in Bekasi cannot be separated from the high rate of migration into this area. High level of migration into Bekasi is the consequence of national government policies that put the cities around the capital Jakarta as capital buffers. Nowadays Bekasi regency is Jakarta's capital buffer in industry, while Bekasi city has been developed as the housing complexes and shopping centers. As a result, in general, agricultural land is decreasing due to the increasing number of industrial development in the regency, while the conditions of indigenous people in the city of Bekasi is increasingly pushed to peripheral areas. The migration into Bekasi and the influence of strong massive social changes felt by residents since about more than last ten years. (Interview with Djajang Buntoro, on January 27, 2014; Ahmad Yudhisthira, on January 29, 2014) Table 4 below shows a comparison of lifetime migration[1] and recent migration[2] in the four cities of our research locations.

1 Lifetime migration is a migration based on birth place. An individual is categorized as a lifetime migrant if the province or regency/city where he/she was born is different from the province or regency/city he/she resides now (at the moment of census taking).

2 Recent migration is a migration based on someone's place during five years ago. An individual is categorized as a recent migrant if the province or regency/city of his/her place five yeras ago was different from his/her place now (at the moment of census taking). (Central Bereau of Statistics)

Table 4: Migration in the four cities
(Source: 2010 Population Census by BPS/ Central Bureau of Statistics)

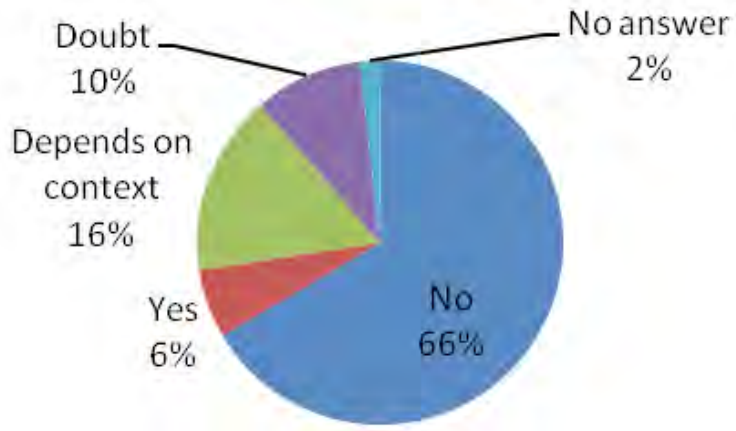
Area	Non-Lifetime Migrant (%)	Lifetime Migrant (%)	Non-Recent Migration (%)	Recent Migration (%)
Manado city	60,55	39,45	91,65	7,57
Pontianak city	72,05	27,95	92,49	7,42
Denpasar city	47,32	52,68	87,65	12,25
Bekasi city	36,88	63,12	87,15	12,73

From the table illustrated above, lifetime migrants coming into Bekasi city is the highest, i.e. 63.12%. In this sense, almost two-thirds of the populations of Bekasi city are immigrants (from another part of Indonesia). Most conflict regarding houses of worship in Bekasi happens in residential complex. For example, two cases related to houses of worship in 2009 such as protest against church construction and an attack on a church, happened in housing complex, namely Villa Indah Permai Housing complex and Harapan Indah Housing complex. Meanwhile the sealing/ closure of a church in 2010 and protest of the demolition of the statue also took place in a residential neighborhood of migrants, i.e. Medan Satria Housing complex (CRCS UGM 2009; CRCS UGM 2010). Despite that, violence and similar problems also happens in rural villages, but the problems and violence related to houses of worship are much concentrated in the center of the migration enclaves where those sacred places are relatively newly built.

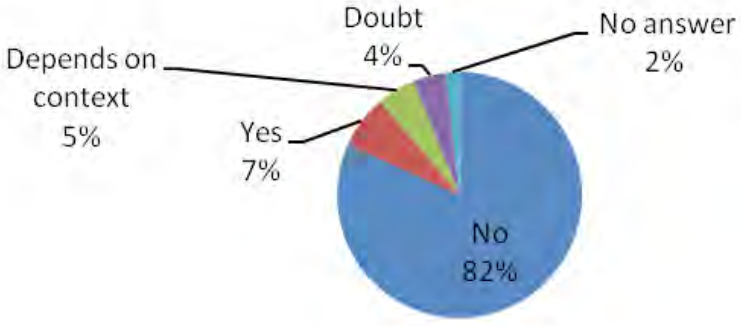
Picture 15: Shop houses complex used for four different churches in Bekasi city. Some Churches proposed permit for the church establishment since years ago but not yet fulfilled by the government, therefore they modify a shopping complex as a temporary house of worship

Regardless the complexity of social change and problems of migration that happen in some cities, we want to know respondents' perception and attitude toward house of worship or holy sites of other religions. We asked them in the survey do they think that the attack towards house of worship or holy sites of other religions is justified? Respondents answering "no" were 66% and those answering "yes" were 6%. We provided another choice "depends on the context" in which 16% of respondents chose that answer as illustrated by the graphic 13 as below.

Graphic 13: Are attacks on houses of worship or holy sites of other religions justified?



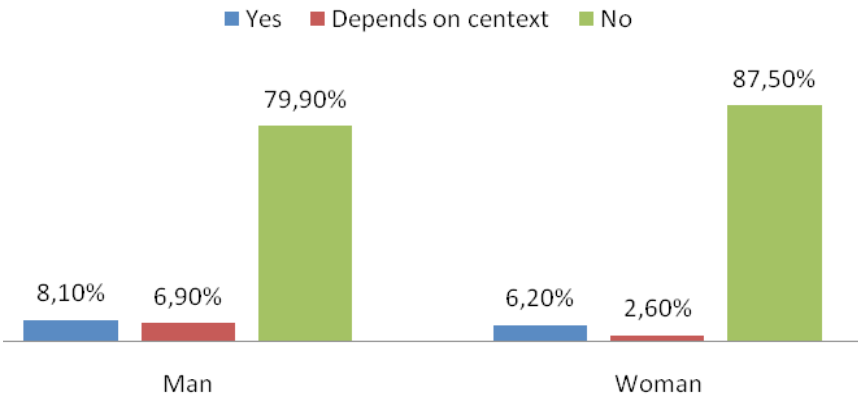
Graphic 14: Willingness to participate in the invitation for attacking Houses of worship or holy sites of other religions



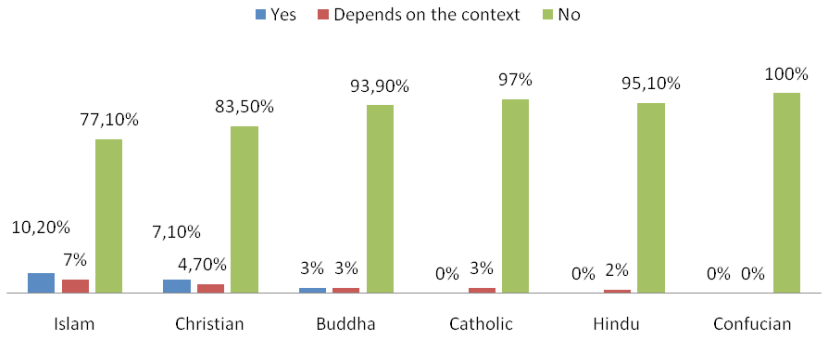
In relation to discussion in the previous sub-chapter on the influence of religious understanding on the appreciation of houses of worship and religious holy sites, graphic 14 above provides an important as well as significant explanation for those three previous graphics (the graphic 9, the graphic 10, and the graphic 13). We can see relatively consistent facts, which are: (a) respondents' religion understanding that does not support the appreciation toward house of worship or holy sites of other religions is as much as 8%;

(b) respondents who firmly replied that the attack toward house of worship or holy sites of other religions is justified were 6%; (c) in addition, those who are willing to participate in the invitation for attacking house of worship or holy sites of other religions were 7%. Here there is consistency between understanding and negative actions towards the protection of the sacred places of other religions. The range numbers held down between 6-8% of the total number of respondents.

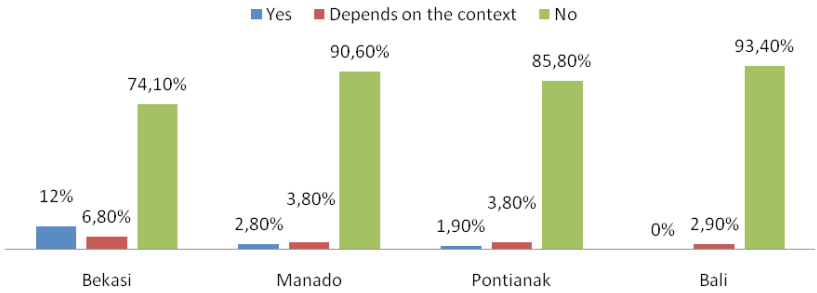
Graphic 15: Willingness to participate in the invitation for attacking houses of worship or holy sites of other religions based on gender



Graphic 16: Willingness to participate in the invitation for attacking house of worship or holy sites of other religions based on respondents' religion



Graphic 17: Willingness to participate in the invitation for attacking house of worship or holy sites of other religions based on region



Graphic 15 shows more women say "no" to the invitation to attack houses of worship or holy sites of other religions compared to men (the gap is 7.6%). Moreover, respondents who firmly state "yes" to the invitation are dominated by men, compared to women (the gap is 1.9%). Depending on the context is a vague classification, but this option is offered to provide room for those who are still hesitant (cannot firmly express).For example, in some cases associated with houses of worship that do not have permission yet, government or people may be reluctant to protect the houses of worship from any kind of violent acts. As illustrated in the graphic 15, the number of men who chose "depends on context" is higher than women (the gap is 4.3%). The gap between men's and women's preference regarding this topic is under 10%, so it is not too high. But it is important to note here the fact that women have lower willingness to participate in the invitation for attacking house of worship or holy sites of other religions is a consistent finding with other inclusive preference of women shown by previous findings in this research. In contrast, men tend to be more prone to be invited to act of violence against house of worship or holy sites of other religions.

Based the respondents' religion, Muslims, Christians (Protestants), and Buddhist respectively stated "yes" to the call for attacking house of worship or holy sites of other religions respectively and orderly as 10.2%, 7.1%, and 3 % (graphic 16).

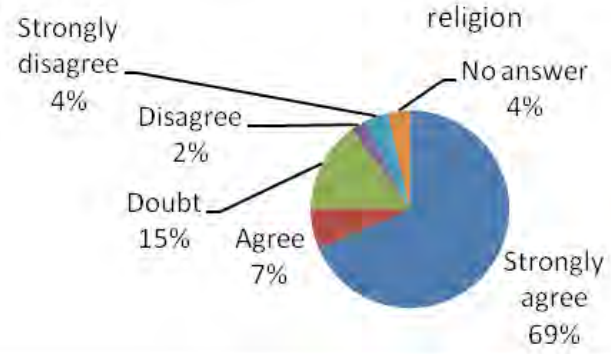
This, surprisingly, is consistent with graphic 11 regarding their religious understanding in relation to support or not to support the appreciation toward house of worship or holy sites of other religions (see: the graphic 11). If we link this finding with the number of population in local context, this point shows an interesting feature. Respondents of three religious groups are relatively large religious population in their respective regions Islam (Bekasi), Christian (Manado), and Buddhism (Pontianak). Buddhism is not the majority in Pontianak, but quite significant number compared to other parts in Indonesia. To this point, we can draw a link between the position of the large number of religious population in certain area and relatively lack inclusivity of their religious understanding, and willingness to participate in the invitation for attacking house of worship or holy sites of other religions. Hindus in Bali in this case is an exception. This conclusion is supported by the analysis as illustrated in graphic 17 above.

Role of the State and Society Expectation

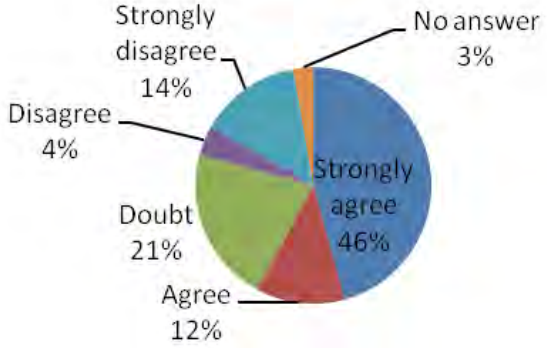
The rights based perspective requires state efforts to respect, protect and to fulfill citizens right and to manage religious diversity in the society. This section measures respondents' perceptions on how they perceive state's responsibility to respect, to protect and to fulfill citizen's rights. In the next section, we will discuss the role of local government by comparing areas where conflict or violence towards places of worship occurs and where it does not.

When respondents were asked do they agree that the state must respect, protect and fulfill freedom of religion/beliefs of all six religions followers (Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism), 76% stated their agreement ("strongly agree" and "agree"). The result decreased to58% when we changed the category to freedom of religion/ beliefs for all religions followers outside six formal religions and also for local beliefs (the gap is 18%).

Graphic 18: Agreement that state must guarantee freedom of religion or beliefs for the followers of six state recognized religion



Graphic 19: Agreement that state must guarantee freedom of religion or beliefs for the followers outside six state recognized religion

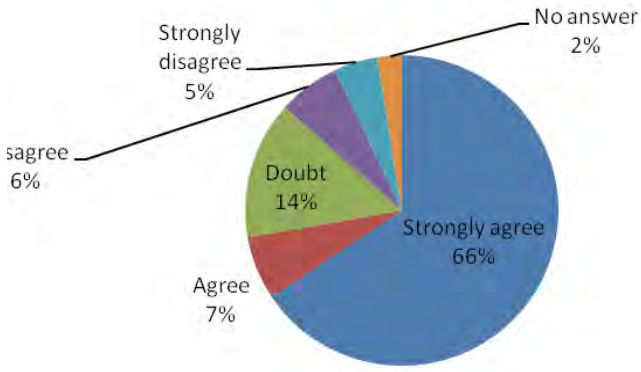


Respondent who chose "doubt" in both graphics above increases from 15% in the graphic 18 to 21% in graphic 19 (the gap is 6%), while those did not agree ("disagree" and "strongly disagree") increases from 6% in graphic 18 to 18% in the graphic 19 (the gap is 12%). As a result, there is consistent perception in which respondents place the responsibility of the state in terms of guarantee freedom of religion or beliefs for the adherents of six state recognized religions more than the adherents of religions or beliefs outside that category. Although, one important thing to note is that the agreement toward state's guarantee freedom of religion or beliefs for the followers outside six religions recognized by the state remained high (58%).

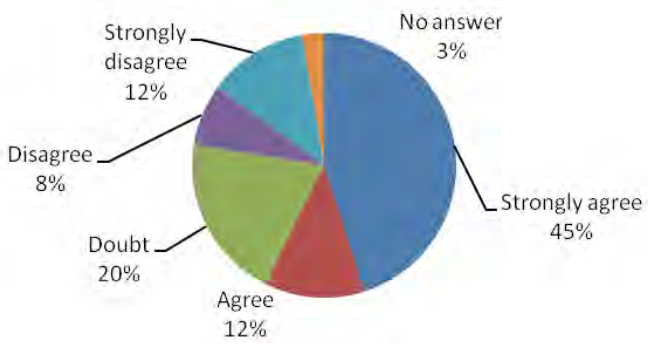
Finding about respondents' perception regarding state's guarantee for freedom of religion or beliefs using the category of the followers of six religions recognized by the state and outside them is consistent with next perception about the state's guarantee for their houses of worship.

Those who claim that the state must protect houses of worship for the followers of six religions recognized by the state, 73 % ("strongly agree" and "agree"). Whereas, the percentage dropped to 57%, when the object was house of worship of the followers of religion or beliefs outside those six religions that are recognized by the state as illustrated in graphic 20and graphic 21. The pattern is similar to the previous discussion that uses category inside or outside six state's recognized religions. When the object is houses of worship of followers of six state's recognized religions, respondents who chose "doubt" amounts to 14% and it increased to 20% when the object is changed to houses of worship of followers outside six state's recognized religions or beliefs. Those who expressed disagreement ("disagree" and "strongly disagree") also increased from 11% to 20% (the gap is 9%).

Graphic 20: Agreement about state must guarantee house of worship of the followers of six state recognized religion



Graphic 21: Agreement about state must guarantee house of worship of the followers of outside six state recognized religion or beliefs



In 2006, the government issued a new regulation (Joint Ministerial Regulation /PBM) on the establishment of houses of worship and the role of *Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama* (FKUB/ the Forum for Religious Harmony). As a follow up, the government-established FKUB that manages inter-religious harmony are established in each district. Among FKUB's duty is giving permit recommendation for the establishment of houses of worship. It is interesting to observe whether civil society in the local level uses this institution. In Manado, PBM is not used because they put forward civic deliberation with *mapalus* spirit. In the meantime, in Bali it is also not used because there are restrictions on the construction of a new house of worship not only for the non-Hindus, but also to Hindus themselves. Meanwhile, in Bekasi PBM is used very strictly and sometimes exploited by intolerant religious community groups to problematize established house of worship or to protest the plan of new places of worship building, especially for minorities. In four study areas, FKUB generally works ineffectively in solving problems concerning the house of worship (interview with Iwan Runtunuwu, on December 16, 2014; interview with Djajang Buntoro, on January 27, 2014; Rasnius Pasaribu, on January 27, 2014).

The Forum for Religious Harmony (FKUB) has been established in Manado city, Pontianak city, Denpasar, and Bekasi. In those cities, FKUB are generally non effective. In Manado, FKUB that is established by the government is quite weak because it depends on the government. Sometimes FKUB also clashes with the Association Body for interfaith Cooperation (BKSAUA),which has established more than 30 years before FKUB (interview with Fred Tawalujan, on December 18, 2014). In Pontianak, FKUB runs very slow. Sometimes FKUB becomes part of the problems that hinders permit of construction or displacement of the location of some houses of worship (interview with Leo Chandra, on December 22, 2014). In Bekasi, recently FKUB has actually been successfully giving recommendation of establishment of several houses of worship(interview with Abdul Manan, on January 27, 2015). However, given the ample number of houses of worship problems in Bekasi city, seemingly FKUB is unable to find a breakthrough to resolve these problems. In sealing the Ahmadiyya mosque Al-Misbah in 2013, there are FKUB figures involved in the sealing process(interview with Ahmad Murtiono, on January 29, 2015). In Bali, as the establishment of houses of worship in Bali is hardly possible, FKUB does not deal much in giving permission of the establishment of houses of worship. Nevertheless, FKUB Bali was relatively successful in encouraging good communication among religious leaders that are important to ease tensions between the Balinese and the migrants that are mostly Muslims and Christians (interview with Mahfouz and Eko, on January 21, 2015).

Local government's role in managing the plurality of religions and beliefs cannot be marginalized as they have a significant role to play. Referring to Ward Berenschot (2011), Panggaben (2014) expresses the importance of the role of the local state (read: local government) in determining whether the violence occurred in an area or not. Some incidents in Ketapang and Kupang in 1998 made

stakeholders (community leaders, religious leaders, government, and military) in Manado to be aware of any possibility of similar inter-religious violence taking place in Manado in the future. Moreover, the violence finally also exploded in Poso in 1998 and 1999. Consolidation among the governor of North Sulawesi, the TNI (national army), the mayor, the government officials and the local community leaders was relatively successful (Panggabean 2014). Subsequently, North Sulawesi has been relatively safe from communal violence during Indonesian's ongoing and long reform era.

However, minor incidents are not always absent in the socio-religious life in Manado. For example, street conflict between Catholics and motorcycle taxi drivers occurred several years ago. The police handled the case. Because community level consolidation was solid enough, the conflict could be mitigated, eventually recovered and the situation restored back to normal (interview with Fred Tawalujan, on December 18, 2014). Stone-throwing incident (and sometimes dead animals) to house of worship also occurred occasionally (interview with Taufiq Pasiak, on December 16, 2014; Iwan Runtunuwu, on December 16, 2014). A *wayer* arrow (*panah wayer*) case with casualties occurred in early 2014. *Wayer* arrow, types of arrows with special features, suddenly released to the road killed several people. According to an academician, Ivan Kaunang, *wayer* arrow phenomenon is a representation of a response to the struggle for social space between groups (Pasiak 2014: 63). In struggling for social space, youth in Manado began to feel desperate and tried to express their dissatisfaction toward the existing situation by acting *wayer* arrow (interview with Iwan Runtunuwu, on December 16, 2014). This observation gives us lessons learnt that even in an area known to be safe sometimes violent conflicts arise. But once again, local government needs to be alert regarding conflict transformation hence it will not escalate into regular and/or excalated violence.

Compared to Manado, the situation is quite different in Bekasi where local government is sometimes unable to play its role strategically to minimize conflict and acts of violence, including in protecting the existence of houses of worship. Cases of sealing or closure of houses of worship (several churches and Ahmadiyah mosque) carried out by government officials or police together with radical religious organization. The government is infrequently also scared by the insistence of intolerant religious mass organizations such as in the case of construction permit reconsideration for a church in Vila Indah Permai housing complex and also the case of SK Bupati for sealing HKBP Filadelfia church (CRCS UGM 2010; CRCS UGM 2012; Interview with Ahmad Murtiono, January 29, 2015).

The fear of local government to be firm with radical religious organizations allows radical groups acts of violence to become a common pattern that are repeated to win intolerant aspirations. Thus violence becomes a successful tactic. Nevertheless there have been attempts by the local government of Bekasi to manage the differences proportionally. One of these efforts is reflected in the Declaration of Inter-Religious Harmony in 2010, which was led by the mayor of Bekasi and involved religious leaders and attended by thousands of people in Bekasi sports hall (Interview with Suherman, on January 26, 2015; Abdul Manan on January 27, 2015).This important effort is unfortunately still too small compared to the challenges of increasingly complex social developments in Bekasi.

Campaign for Holy Sites Protection, Its Challenge, and Role of Women

This research is not purely academic research, but to strengthen civil society as well. More specifically, this effort would target school teachers whom we expect will transform the idea of protection of houses of worship and holy sites to their students and society. We expect the community empowerment program in

this field continues to grow after all. Related to that idea, based on observations and interviews on the field we found at least three interesting things.

First, the awareness to campaign a coexistent life has grown largely. The potential for a tolerance movement has grown in society both driven by the cooperation among civil society groups, as well as between civil society and the government or the police. Two banners below illustrate this.

Picture 16: The banner in the city of Manado before Christmas 2014 with the slogan *"SULUT sulit disulut karna SOLID"* (It's hard for North Sulawesi to be Provoked since it is Solid)

Picture 17: A used banner on an activity installed in front of the Ansor office (NU young organization) in Bekasi city, which states "Tolerance Campaign among Inter-Religious People Through the Islamic Music Art"

Secondly, there were many interfaith activists in Manado in the 1990s and early 2000s and they were spry to prevent tension

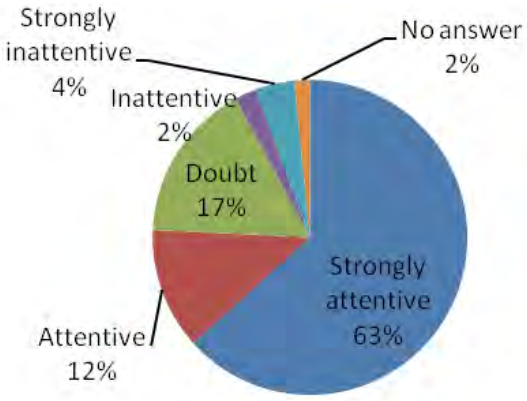
among religions in society. That also gives contribution to create peaceful situation in Manado during the transition of Reformation era. Compared with mentioned years, the current situations are now somewhat different. The interfaith activists are fewer in number. Their spirit may be decreased compared to the previous generation. This situation made inter-faith activists of the 1990s era are a bit worried. Is the society ready should tension happen? Will there be no conflict or violence in the near future of Manado? (interview with Taufiq Pasiak, on December 16, 2014). An important lesson learned to note here is that in Manado, and perhaps also in other regions, interfaith activist regeneration may be less successful. Given the last two points, right here we find there are essential needs to seed regeneration of activists of inter-religious dialogue and to facilitate interfaith dialogues more intensively among youngsters.

Third, although the inter-religious relations in Manado are quite good, sometimes the segregation and communication among religious groups are stuck. For example, Pastor Iwan Runtunuwu, the Church leaders of GMIM Sentrum Manado, stated that his congregants, including young people, do not have direct contact with Muslim community living in villages that are not far from the church. Therefore, Pastor Iwan said that they need a third party to facilitate dialogue between religious groups to initiate and to break that bad communication situation (interview with Iwan Runtunuwu, on December 16, 2014). The point is that in certain cases, religious community needs a facilitator or a third party from outside the community to initiate communication between parties. In the next stage, possibly a third party is no longer needed.

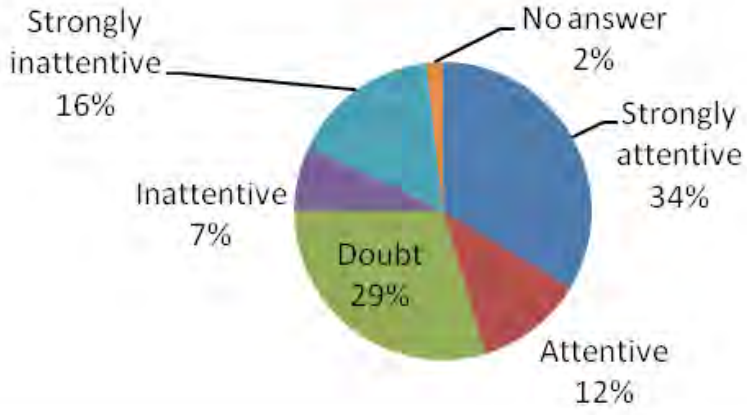
Related to campaign for protection of house of worship or other holy sites, in a more narrow scope the question is how do people that are interested get involved in the protection of holy sites and the desire to participate in campaign for holy sites. The result is that respondents' level of concern to the house of worship of their

own religion is high. When combined between the options "very attentive" and "attentive" then we can say 75% of respondents pay attention to the protection of house of worship or other holy sites of their own. Those who do not have attention ("do not care" and "very inattentive") amounted to 6%. However, the concern ("very attentive" and "attentive") is decreased to a bit more than one-third (to 46%) when the object of protection of house of worship or holy sites belongs to other religions or beliefs (the gap is 31%).

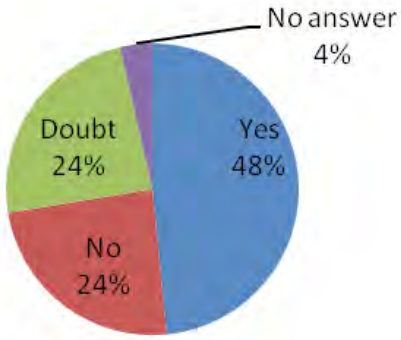
Graphic 22: Level of attention to the protection for respondent's own house of worship and holy site



Graphic 23: Level of attention to the protection for house of worship and holy site of other religions



Graphic 24: Potential involvement in the campaign to respect holy sites of religions and beliefs



The comparison between Graphic 22 and Graphic 23 in which the attention toward house of worship or holy sites of other religions is lower (31%) than the attention towards respondents' own house of worship or holy sites on the one hand can be understood. However, at the same time it has become a vulnerable point that is worrying regarding the idea about protection of house of worship or holy sites that is still dominated by mono-religious perspective, and not yet by a multi-religious perspective.

Graphic 24 shows that most respondents view themselves as being potentially involved in the campaign of respecting holy sites as much as 48%. Nevertheless those who declared "no" is relatively high, i.e. 24%, as well as those who had "no answer" 24%. This indicates that the project to campaign for the protection of houses of worship and/or holy sites will face considerable challenges and requires great energy to transform the religious views from negative to be more positive about houses of worship or holy sites, especially of others.

The findings of the analysis of quantitative studies above see women as being more positive in looking at religious diversity and having more positive understanding on the diversity of houses of worship or holy sites. Our brief observation on the field also found

there are places of pilgrimage, especially tombs, which represent a local female role in history.

Picture 18: Tomb of Nyi Mas R.A. Dewi Mayangsari in Bojongsari, Kedungwaringin, Bekasi regency with background of a *musholla*

Picture 19: A group of women from East Java visit and pray in the tomb of Raden Ayu Siti Khotijah in Pemecutan Bali

Although visited also by men, women through weekly regular Quranic recitation in Bojongsari village preserve the tomb of Dewi Mayangsari. Siti Khotijah's tomb is a very interesting phenomenon. Siti Khotijah is the daughter of King of Pemecutan and the wife of Prince Cakraningrat IV of Bangkalan, Madura (interview with I Made Mangku Jro Puger, on January 21, 2015). Besides being visited by Muslims, the tomb is also visited by Hindu worshippers. Alfian, in his paper, wrote the different rituals between Muslims and Hindus in the tomb of Siti Khotijah as illustrated below.

Table 5: Differences in rituals of Hindus and Muslims in the tomb of Siti Khotijah Pemecutan Bali (Source: Alfian, without year)

No	Ritual / Procedures for Hindus	Ritual/ Procedures for Muslim
1	Ritual led by the tomb keeper of Raden Ayu Siti Khotijah	Reading greetings: *"asalamulaikumyaahlikubur"* / safety for you O inhabitants of the tomb you in advance and we will follow
2	Pilgrims brings *telon* oil, cymbals and incense to be endowed	Going to the burial location put the right foot first
3	Saying the spell in the heart fervently	At the tomb, one should sit
4	Splashing water provided by the the tomb keeper	Reading the Quran and prayers be upon the Prophet Muhammad, readings of *istighfar, tahlil*, and *tahmid* the reward awarded to Siti Khotijah
5	Then the pilgrims left the tomb and enter *sesari* that exist in the tomb Raden Ayu Siti Khotijah	Praying for the bodies to be forgiven his sins

The above description is a general procedure. In practice, prayer or ritual can be highly individual or depends on the group leader of pilgrims. Siti Khotijah's tomb is inclusive since it is visited by Muslims and Hindus alike. It reminds us to UCCHS discussed in Chapter II, which provides the opportunity of a holy site to become a place of pilgrimage for more than a particular

religious group. Although Siti Khotijah is a sacred Muslim tomb, interestingly, the tomb keepers are a Hindu couple.

The role of women as preserver and keeper of religious traditions and holy sites is also very significant. In Bali where religious traditions and customs are strongly held, most preparation of religious rituals and preservation of traditions are handled by women. Even though women have a very big role, the spiritual leader in the public space in the Hindu community remains male. It also occurs in many other religious traditions such as Islam, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Catholic, excluding Christian (Protestantism).

Picture 20: A woman gives offerings and
prays in front of the entrance gate of Sukawati market, Bali

Regarding holy sites preservation, can it be said that women are subordinated by men? Mrs. Mangku Ni Kadek Arlini, an *adat* woman figure in Bali, refuses this way of thinking. According to her, from the perspective of Hinduism, the relation of women and men must be understood in the perspective of the concept of *Rwabhineda* (two different sides). Men and women complement with each other. Their relations are not a top-down function, important-unimportant, or high-low relations. Arlini gives an example, one of them, in preparation for the *desa* ritual (village ritual) in Bali. *Pakramandesa* or *karma desa* is dominated by men. The participants of the discussion on *pakramandesa* are men. However, women also have association in their village, called *karma istri*. The general principal or ritual are decided by men in *karma desa* discussion. While the details and implementations of the decision are determined by the women in *karma istri* discussion. In making decisions in *karma desa*, the husbands always project the women's idea whose aspirations brought from the family level. Rituals in the village will never be realized if there is no consent from women in *karma istri* (interview with Ni Kadek Arlini, on February 12, 2015). Apart from the perspective how do we see the reality, up to this point we should take into account our important findings about relationship among holy sites, ritual, and women in everyday life as one of potency in protecting house of worship or holy sites.

CHAPTER IV
CONCLUSION

Subsequent to this research, it is recommended that we use Indonesian translation for words of holy sites in Bahasa Indonesia as "*tempat-tempat suci*", which will define "holy sites" better in Indonesian. We formulate two categories of holy sites to fit Indonesian context, namely "houses of worship" and "places of pilgrimage". We expect these categories could be accepted widely by various religions and beliefs in Indonesia. The survey results show that the society do not explicitly separate them, but the general tendency is they even combine elements of religion and culture in constructing what they regard as holy sites. As many as 58% respondents associate holy sites with religion and culture at once, 31% of respondents relate them with religion alone and 7% with culture only. Our findings on the existence of some houses of worship, which are located adjacent or neighboring to each other could be the beginning of dialogue building related to holy sites. We also found similar elements in different religious houses of worship such as the function of water or incense in worship, as well as *bedug* or *gong* (bell) in most houses of worship.

In general, the socio-religious relations in four selected areas are as follows. *First*, there were problems related to houses of worship in Bekasi and Bali, although the characteristic of issue in both places is different. Violence occurred in Bekasi, but it did not happen in Bali. In Bali, it is generally difficult to build new places

of worship for anyone, either for Hindus (majority religious group) or for non-Hindu minorities. *Second*, acts of violence outside the case of houses of worship have occurred few times in Bekasi. *Third*, large-scale ethnic violence took place in West Kalimantan over a period of about fifteen years at the beginning of Indonesian Reformation in 1998 with hundreds of people reported as victims. Of the four areas studied, interfaith co-existence in Manado tends to be the most cohesive.

Why did problem and violence against houses of worship tend to take place in Bekasi and not in three other cities? This study tries to answer the question by investigating the role of migration into Bekasi, which results in increasingly loosening relationships between individuals and groups in the society. This situation, in turn, influences the emergence of inter-religious violence and violence against houses of worship. Statistical data mentions that lifetime migrants entering Bekasi are the highest compared to those three other cities, which is 63.12%. It means that nearly two-thirds of the populations in Bekasi are migrants (from other parts of Indonesia). Most conflicts of houses of worship in Bekasi are located in residential complexes. For example, two cases related to houses of worship in 2009, such as protest against a church construction and an attack on a church, both happened in housing complexes. Meanwhile, church sealing in 2010 and protest to demolish a statue also took place in a migrants' residential neighborhood. Despite Moreover, similar problems also arose in villages, but the problems and violence related to houses of worship are more concentrated in the migrants' enclaves.

While there are aspects of economic interest due to migration high level in Denpasar and Badung regency of Bali, the strong Balinese culture encourages sense of belonging among Balinese as the host in their own territory. This is not the case in Bekasi. The strong desire to maintain their own culture encourages Balinese

people to deal with the pressure of capitalism and tourism. The existing situation promotes people of Bali to negotiate with social changes. The migrants in Bali are also encouraged to adapt Balinese culture. For example, this is reflected in the architecture of some non-Hindu houses of worships. Balinese and migrants who live in some housing complexes build multi-functional *bale banjar* (meeting places) that could be used for multi-faith activities. Meanwhile, in Bekasi resident associations are considered weak to deal with challenges as the consequence of complex industrial society. In the midst of emerging mass organizations and extreme religious movements, there are some tolerant religious movements in Bekasi. However, the movements seem frail to deal with the intolerant religious movements.

In Manado, houses of worship of certain religious groups are not just the responsibility of that particular religious community, but a shared responsibility. In North Sulawesi, generally there is a local wisdom called *mapalus* (cooperation). The influence of *mapalus* tradition is reflected in the process of houses of worship establishment. For example, both Muslims and Christian fund the establishment of mosques. Both Muslims and Christian also fund churches to be built. The spirit of *mapalus* also influences the way they maintain plural houses of worship. Thus, the security of houses of worship is not only the responsibility of the certain religious believer, but a shared responsibility across religions.

The role of local government in managing religious diversity and belief is very important. The history of peace in Manado provides a lesson that local government plays an important role in determining the absence of violence during the transition period of the Indonesian Reform era 1998, while in the surrounding areas there were many inter-ethnic-religious conflicts that happened. In 2006, the government also issued a new regulation (Joint Ministerial Regulation/ PBM) on the establishment of houses of worship and

the role of *Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama* (FKUB/the Forum for Religious Harmony). As a follow up, local governments established FKUB that manages inter-religious harmony issues in each district. Among its duty, FKUB can give permits recommendation for houses of worship establishment. It is interesting to observe whether civil society will use that institution or not. In Manado, the community does not use PBM because they prioritize civic deliberation with *mapalus* spirit. Community in Bali also does not use PBS because there are restrictions on the construction of new houses of worship for all religions, including for Hindus themselves. Meanwhile, in Bekasi, the community use PBM very strictly and sometimes it is exploited by intolerant religious community groups to question the establishment of houses of worship or to protest the plan of new places of worship establishment, especially for minorities. In four study areas, FKUB generally does not function effectively in solving problems concerning houses of worship.

Moreover, the survey data shows that women tend to have more friends of different religions than men. Women have more religious understanding that supports the respect and protection of houses of worship of other religions. In addition, the numbers of women respondents are also higher than men to say "no" to call for attack on the house of worship or other religious holy sites. During field research, we also found that places of pilgrimage, especially tombs, represent the figure of local women in the past. Therefore, it is important to pay attention to the role of women in everyday life, such as the role of women in ritual, as one of the powers to protect houses of worship and holy sites.

In general, respondents whose negative understanding and attitude towards houses of worship or holy sites of other religions are in the range of 6-8% of the total respondents. They include those who are willing to be invited to attack house of worship or holy sites of other religions. It is a challenge for Indonesian religious

groups. In addition, it also proves the importance of SFCG's holy sites protection project in Indonesia.

Summary

From the research, there are key points to understand research findings more detail as the table follows.

Main Issue	Finding
Chapter II	
The translation of holy sites in *bahasa* Indonesia	The Indonesian literal translation of holy sites is *tempat-tempat suci* or *situs-situs suci*. In English, more or less, the term refers to the holy sites in connection to religious sites. While in *bahasa* Indonesia is not always the case. Holy sites are also associated with customs and at the same time culture. Religion, customs, and culture often overlap with each other. That is why it is possible to translate the holy sites into *tempat-tempat suci agama* (religious sacred places). Considering the complexity of translation problems, I recommend it is *tempat-tempat suci* (sacred places), without affixing the word "religion" that may be selected by other translators. We use this translation to provide opportunities for local religions, beliefs, and possible mixing identities among religions, customs, and cultures in Indonesian context. Nevertheless, for the development of post-research program we can select any strategic terms by considering the broad public acceptance.
The connection between religion and culture in holy sites	Our survey proves that people in general do not separate strictly between religious and cultural identity in constructing what they regard as holy places. Most respondents significantly linked holy sites with "religion and culture" (58%) as well, and then "religious" only (31%) and "culture" only (7%).The choice to "religion" only is higher than the "culture" only will be a consistent pattern in many other things when we provide the two options for respondents.
Two kinds of holy sites in Indonesian context	According to our observations, there are at least two kinds of holy sites in the context of Indonesian society: "houses of worship" *(rumah ibadah)* and "places of pilgrimage" *(tempat-tempat ziarah)*.
General picture of harmonious diverse houses of worship in pluralistic Indonesia society	Many houses of worship were built by their followers in the midst of religious pluralistic society without any problems. Many old houses of worship are still well preserved until now. That shows those houses of worship are accepted by the society.

Religious minority groups sometimes meet difficulty in building new houses of worship	Sometimes, religious minority groups meet challenges from religious majority groups in some regions in building new houses of worship.
The cultural adaptation of non-Hindus houses of worship architecture in Bali	In general, the house of worship building of a religion has a characteristic that can be easily recognized by the public as house of worship of a particular religion. However, due to art and architecture development, or because of the intention to adapt to local culture, houses of worship building of certain religions do not always have the same characteristic. A lot of churches and mosques in Bali adapt the architecture of Balinese architecture, thus to some extents they share same elements with the Hindu temple architecture.
Interesting phenomenon that many houses of worship of different religions are close to each other	An interesting phenomenon in many places of Indonesia is that many houses of worship of different religions are close to eac hother. During decades they represent co-existent life of inter-religious society. They become symbol of inter-religious harmony and cohesiveness in the city concerned.
Different religious communities use similar elements in their houses of worship and rituals	Similar elements used by different religious communities in the different houses of worship, such as water and incense are used in the houses of worship of many religions during rituals. In addition, there are similar traditional drums *(bedug)* in several houses of worship.
Place of pilgrimage and its category	In many religions there are places that become a destination of pilgrimage outside the house of worship of those religions. Through our observation, the term "places of pilgrimage" in the context of Indonesia covers several pilgrimage places at once, such as: (a) the Mary cave and the way of cross for Catholics; (b) the tombs of saints, missionaries, and religious leaders which are revered in many religions; and (c) the tombs of the ancestors in many faith traditions; (d) the old sites (usually physically they are stones) among some Hindus in Bali, or places of pilgrimage for indigenous traditions which are still respected.
Places of pilgrimage that are not specifically linked to religion in particular	In addition to religious pilgrimage places, there are some places of pilgrimage that are not specifically linked to religion in particular. As we found in the observation, there is a spiritual pilgrimage aside of 'world religious' tradition which is often visited by people in North Sulawesi. It is the site of Watu Pinawetengan in Minahasa.

Respecting place of pilgrimages is partof inter-religious and intra-religious tolerance	There is no doubt that polemic exists in each respective religions whether those places are considered as sacred or not. Some religious groups prohibit the practice of pilgrimages to sacred place, which theologically perceived as heretic. We assume respecting shrines of a particular religious group is part of inter-religious and intra-religious tolerance as well.
Space of potential dialogue on holy sites, unique findings from Indonesia	The phenomenon that many houses of worship of different religions are close to each other and the equations of elements in their houses of worship and rituals can be used as a starting point for dialogue among religions which is mandated by UCCHS in which holy sites becomes a space of peace, harmony, and reconciliation.
Chapter III	
On interreligious interaction	
Level of intolerance on holy sites and conflict occurrence in the four research location	Among the four cities, North Sulawesi in general or Manado in particularly has the highest degree of religious and ethnic cohesiveness. Then the second most cohesive region is Bali. Although there are problems in terms of houses of worship, when considering the absence of violence, Bali can be said to be the second cohesive region after North Sulawesi. Both Bekasi and West Kalimantan have a history of conflict and violence, but the characteristics are different. From the side of the victims, the violence in West Kalimantan is more massive and inflicted more casualties. The pattern of the conflict did not occur quickly in a short time. Meanwhile, in Bekasi the kind of conflict occurred in smaller in scale, but quite often reoccurs. Because there was a quite strong religious element in the case of the conflict in Bekasi, but not in the case in West Kalimantan, then in the context of holy sites protection, Bekasi would be of more concern in this research.
Women have friends from different religions more than men	Most of the respondents stated they had friends of different religions, as many as 81.5%; and those who did not have friends of different religions amounted to 10.2%. Another interesting fact that women have friends of different religions slightly higher than men: women 90.3% and men 84.4%.
Having friends from different religions based on respondents' religion and region	In terms of religion, this shows that the Muslim respondents have the lowest friends of different religions (79.9%) and the highest is Confucian (100%). Then, when viewed from the area, the lowest is Bekasi (69.2%) and the highest is Pontianak (96.2%). In the area that has the lowest level of friends of different religions, Bekasi, more than two-thirds of respondents still have friends of different religions.

Visiting houses of different religions based on respondents' religion and region	The experience of visiting houses of friends of other religions is part of the experience of interfaith interactions. Of those who have friends of different religions, 67.6% of respondents have visited the house of people of different religions in the last three years. While those who have never visited the house of people of different religions in the past three years are 17.3%.While the Muslim respondents who have ever visited the house of people of different religions are 65.1%; Hindu 73.3%; Confucians 76.5% 84.8% Catholic; Christian 88%; and Buddhist 90.9%. In terms of regions recorded respondents from Bekasi who have ever visited the house of people of different religions are 55.8%; Bali 71.7%; Pontianak Manado 79.2% and 90.6%.
Having ever visited a house of worship or holy sites of other religions in the last 3 years	39% stated "yes" and 37.8% "no".
The purpose of visiting house of worship or holy sites of other religions	For personal knowledge (20,9%)
	For the sake of religion/ spiritual purposes (10,9%)
	For the sake of tourist destination (9,7%)
	As part of education activity/ school activities (4,6%)
	In order to accompany friends of other faiths to worship (prayer) (4,5%)
	Following inter-religious exchange program/ dialogue activity (1,2%)
	Others (2,5%)
Decreasing level of direct interaction between people	Modernity and development in this industrial era influence the decreasing level of direct interaction between individuals. There is a decreasing level of direct interaction between people due to the cultural shift from agrarian society to industrial society and the establishment of religious schools in many regions. In Bekasi, which will be discussed more detail later, the development is more difficult because of the problems of massive migration into Bekasi city.
On religious understanding and appreciation to houses of worship of others	

How the religious understanding in favor with respecting for houses of worship or holy sites of other religions?	When asked whether respondents' religious understanding support the appreciation toward the existence of house of worship or holy sites of other religious, the majority of respondents (63%) replied "yes" or expressed their appreciation. While 8% of respondents answered "no".
The appreciation towards houses of worship of followers of non-six state recognized religions is lower rather than of those six state recognized religions	When the appreciation object was changed from "other religions" to "other beliefs (local beliefs)", the percentage who answered "yes" decreased to 5% and who answered "do not know" increased 5%,
On cultural adaptation and the role of civic association	
Migration, local cultural identity and cultural adaptation ability (Bali-Bekasi)	Social change as a result of migration does not always influence the emergence of conflict. It depends on the ability of communities to situate with the exiting local culture. Even though it is still lower than Bekasi, we can say the number of migrants entering Denpasar city are also high (52.68%). In this case it is interesting to compare ability of newcomers' adaptation to the local culture in Bekasi and in Bali. In general, new comers in Bekasi have less desire to adapt to the culture of Bekasi. Although efforts to revitalize the culture of Bekasi have started (Sopandi 2012), there is not a firm form of Bekasi traditional cultural identity yet. The culture of Bekasi is still at a crossroads between Betawi culture and Sundanese culture.
Sense of belonging to local culture and social coexistence in Bekasi	Although there is marginalization aspect in some economic sectors due to the high level of migration of people and migration of capital, the strong Balinese culture encourages a sense of belonging of Balinese toward their own territory. Because of a strong need to maintain the culture, Balinese try to get around Balinese culture in dealing and negotiating with the insistence of tourism. It can be seen for example in the classification of three types of dances in Bali. Adaptation of migrants to the culture of Bali is also reflected in the manufacturing of *bale banjar* in several housing complex that has more pluralistic and multicultural function.

The role of civic associations in maintain peace in local area (Manado-Bekasi)	The presence of civic associations running effectively could transform differences and potential conflict into peace. InBekasi civic associations seem to be weak to deal with big challenges as a consequence of a diverse society, which is increasingly complex. Civic associations in rural and/or village also don't run effectively. The situation is very different in Manado or North Sulawesi in general. When mountain people and villagers from different parts of North Sulawesi migrated to Manado city, they kept their traditional cultures. Since many residents in villages and in towns still have clan relationship (family), individuals still easily communicate one another because of the clan ties in the city. Its influence on the protection of places of worship is very apparent.
The practice of *mapalus* tradition in the context of houses of worship in Manado	In general there is local wisdom called *mapalus* (cooperation) in North Sulawesi. The influence of *mapalus* tradition is reflected in the establishment of houses of worship. For example, if a mosque is built then it's not only Muslims who will build and finance it, but also Christians. Vice versa, if a church is built then not only Christians will build and finance it, but also Muslims. The spirit of *mapalus* also influences the way they maintain plural houses of worship. Thus the security of houses of worship is not only the responsibility of the certain religious believer, but a shared responsibility across religions.
On migration and violence	
Migration and loosening of social relations	The strong migration and its aftermath in Bekasi have influenced the loosening of social relations in the society. Weak civic associations in Bekasi cannot be separated from the high rate of migration into this area.
In Bekasi, problems and violence related to houses of worship is much concentrated in the center of the migration enclaves.	Most houses of worship conflicts in Bekasi city show that they are located in residential complex. For example, two cases related to houses of worship in 2009 such as protest against church construction and an attack on a church, both cases happened in a housing complex: Villa Indah Permai Housing complex and Harapan Indah Housing complex. Meanwhile the sealing/closure of a church in 2010 and protest of the demolition of the statue also took place in a residential neighborhood of migrants, i.e. Medan Satria Housing complex. Despite that, violence and similar problems have also arose in in rural villages, but the problems and violence related to houses of worship much concentrated in the center of the migration enclaves and those sacred places are relatively newly built.

On respondents' perception and attitude toward house of worship or holy sites of other religions	
Is the attack toward house of worship or holy sites of other religions justified?	We asked them in the survey do they think that the attack towards house of worship or holy sites of other religions is justified? Respondents answering "no" were 66% and those answering "yes" were 6%. We provided another choice "depends on the context" in which 16% of respondents choose that answer.
A relatively consistent fact about the link between understanding and negative actions towards the protection of the sacred places of other religions	We can see a relatively consistent fact, namely: (a) respondents' religion understanding that does not support the appreciation toward house of worship or holy sites of other religions as much as 8%; (b) respondents who firmly replied that the attack toward house of worship or holy sites of other religions justified are 6%; (c) in addition, those who are willing to participate in the invitation for attacking house of worship or holy sites of other religions are 7%. Here there is consistency between understanding and negative actions towards the protection of the sacred places of other religions. The range numbers held down between 6-8% of the total number of respondents.
The tendency of men to acts of violence toward houses of worship or holy sites of other religions	More women said "no" to the invitation for attacking house of worship or holy sites of other religions (the gap is 7.6%). Meanwhile, more men stated "yes" to the invitation, (the gap with women is 1.9%).
Willingness to participate in the invitation to attack house of worship or holy sites of other religions based on respondents' religion	Based the respondents' religion, Muslims, Christians (Protestants), and Buddhist respectively stated "yes" to the call for attacking house of worship or holy sites of other religions respectively and orderly as 10.2%, 7.1%, and 3 %. Respondents of the three religious groups are relatively large religious population in their respective regions Islam (Bekasi), Christian (Manado), and Buddhism (Pontianak). Buddhism is not the majority religious group in Pontianak, but quite significant minority there compared to Buddhism in other parts of Indonesia. To this point, we can draw a link between the position of the large number of religious population in certain area and relatively lack inclusivity of their religious understanding, and willingness to participate in the invitation for attacking house of worship or holy sites of other religions. Hindus in Bali in this case is an exception.

Agreement that state must guarantee freedom of religion or beliefs for the followers of six state recognized religion	The rights-based perspective requires state efforts to respect, protect and fulfill the rights of citizens and to manage religious diversity of society. When respondents were asked do they agree that the state must respect, protect and fulfill freedom of religion/ beliefs of all followers of six religions (Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism), 76% stated their agreement ("strongly agree" and "agree").
Agreement that state must guarantee freedom of religion or beliefs for the followers outside of six state-recognized religion	The result decreased to58% when we changed the category to freedom of religion/beliefs for all followers of religions outside those six religions or for followers of local beliefs(the gap is 18%).
Agreement about state must guarantee house of worship of the followers of six state recognized religion is also higher than those outside that category	Those who claimed that the state must protect houses of worship of followers of six state's recognized religions were 73 % ("strongly agree" and "agree"). Whereas, the percentage dropped to 57%, when the object was house of worship of the followers of religion or beliefs outside those six state-recognized religions.
Society response to national policy on the regulation of houses of worship	
Society tends to not use the PBM (regulation to build houses of worship)	It is interesting to observe whether civil society in the local level use PBM or not. In Manado, PBM is not used, because they put forward civic deliberation with *mapalus* spirit. In the meantime, it is also not used in Bali since there are restrictions on the construction of a new house of worship not only for the non-Hindus, but also to Hindus themselves. While in Bekasi, PBM is used very strictly and sometimes exploited by intolerant religious community groups to problematize established house of worship or to protest the plan of new places of worship building, especially for minorities.
Ineffective role of FKUB	In four study areas, FKUB generally function ineffective in solving problems concerning the house of worship.
The role of local government	

Best practice from Manado	Minor incidents are not always absent in the socio-religious life in Manado. For example street conflict between Catholics and motorcycle taxi drivers have occurred several years ago. The police handled the case. Because of consolidation at the community level was solid enough, the conflict could be mitigated, eventually recovered and the situation restored back to normal. Another example is related to the case of *wayer* arrow.
The challenges come from Bekasi	Compared to Manado, the situation is quite different in Bekasi where local government sometimes unable to play its role strategically to minimize conflict and acts of violence, including in protecting the existence of houses of worship. Cases of sealing or closure of houses of worship (several churches and Ahmadiyah mosque) were carried out by government officials or police together with radical religious organization. The government is infrequently also scared by the insistence of intolerant religious mass organizations such as in the case of reconsideration construction permit of a church in Vila Indah Permai housing complex and also the case of SK Bupati for sealing HKBP Filadelfia church.
The campaign for holy sites protection and its challenge	
In general the awareness to campaign a coexistent life has grown largely.	The awareness to campaign a coexistent life has grown largely. The potential for a tolerance movement has grown in society both driven by the cooperation among civil society groups, as well as between civil society and the government or the police.
The facilitator of dialogue is needed when communication of inter-religious is stuck	Although the inter-religious relations in Manado are quite good sometimes the segregation and communication among religious groups are stuck. Therefore, a third party that could facilitate dialogue between religious groups to initiate and to break that stuck communication situation is needed
Perception to get involved in the protection of holy sites and the desire to participate in the campaign.	The result is that respondents' level of concern to the house of worship of their own religion is high. When combined between the options "very attentive" and "attentive" then we can say 75% of respondents pay attention to the protection of house of worship or other holy sites of their own. Those who do not have attention ("do not care" and "very inattentive") amounted to 6%.

More inward looking and less outward looking	The attention toward house of worship or holy sites of other religions is lower (31%) than the attention toward respondents' own house of worship or holy sites on the one hand can be understood.
The campaign requires great energy to transform the religious views from negative to be more positive about houses of worship or holy sites, especially of others.	Most respondents view themselves as being potentially involved in the campaign of respecting holy sites as much as 48%. Nevertheless, those who declared "no" is relatively high, i.e. 24%, as well as those who had "no answer" 24%. This indicates that the project to campaign for the protection of houses of worship and/or holy sites will face considerable challenges and requires great energy to transform the religious views from negative to be more positive about houses of worship or holy sites, especially of others.
The role of women	
Women have more positive views than men	The findings of the analysis of quantitative studies see women as being more positive in looking at religious diversity and having more positive understanding on the diversity of houses of worship or holy sites. Our brief observation on the field also found there are places of pilgrimage, especially tombs, which represent a local female role in history.
The role of women as a preserver and keeper of religious traditions and holy sites are very significant, but the spiritual leader in the public space remains male except in Postestantism	The role of women as preserver and keeper of religious traditions and holy sites are also very significant. In Bali where religious traditions and customs are strongly held, most preparation matters of religious rituals and preservation of traditions handled by women. Even though women have a very big role, the spiritual leader in the public space in the Hindu community remains male. It also occurs in many other religious traditions such as Islam, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Catholic, excluding Christian (Protestantism)
Meaning making on the position of women in ritual	Regarding holy sites preservation, can it be called a woman subordinated by men? A women figure in Bali refuses this way of thinking. According to her, men and women complement with each other regarding. Their relations are not a top-down function, important-unimportant, or high-low relations. In rituals, the relation of women and men must be understood in the perspective of the concept of *Rwabhineda* (two different sides).

Women in everyday religion and and their role in preservation of holy sites	Apart from the perspective how do we see the reality, up to this point we should take into account to our important findings about relationship among holy sites, ritual, and women in everyday life as one of potency in protecting house of worship or holy sites.

Recommendations

Regarding the research finding, we are going to convey recommendations considered as follows.

- A more in-depth and detailed study on text of "the Universal Code of Conduct on Holy Sites (UCCHS)" is important for researchers, observers and interfaith activists. This is because what has been formulated in the UCCHS potentially to be a breakthrough principle for the management of diversity of houses of worship and holy sites in Indonesia. Considering this fact, it is good if we have attention to this issues design a handbook on the text, history, and a discussion of UCCHS to strengthen the dissemination of UCCHS to stakeholders and the wider community.
- Transforming the idea of respect and protection of holy sites is a very strategic formal education policy. Why is it so? Since the transformation of ideas through formal education will have a very broad impact. The last population census in 2010 showed that Indonesian population who studied at elementary school as much as 65,661,309 people, while Junior High School and the equivalent amount to 36,304,112 people, and Senior High School students and the equivalent 40,450,362 people. What does it mean? It signifies that more than 142 million people are in school. Given the vast territory of Indonesia, the transformation should be gradual. This study proved Bekasi is a vulnerable region in terms of

the protection of houses of worship. Therefore the idea of transformation could be started in vulnerable areas such as Bekasi and surroundings. Nevertheless in many places in Indonesia there are similar needs. So the idea of respecting and protecting of holy sites needs to be widened in scope from time to time. School managements, teachers and students are strategic parties as agents of change in the school environment and in the society. In addition, the transformation of this idea to young generation should be disseminated through informal way with exciting method.

- Considering the findings of this research, there are two important actors who have to get special attention. *First,* women. This study shows that women have a positive attitude towards religious diversity and the protection of holy sites. The near future trainings on the holy sites protection need to explore, to dig and to develop woman roles as important actor in the community in protecting holy sites. *Second,* Muslims. This research shows in general Muslims have lower perception in accepting religious diversity and in protecting the holy sites. Therefore, they need to get our attention to accompany them in transforming their potency in accepting religious diversity and in protecting the holy sites of other religions.
- The practices of social engineering show training which incorporates the approach of "to experience" is more effective than the approach "to know". Modules that will be written and trainings that will be held are important to provide adequate portion for developing the approach of "to experience". One example of such approach is, for example, to invite students to experience visiting places of worship of diverse religions.

- Along with the legal drafting process on the Protection for Religious People *(Rancangan Undang-undang Perlindungan Umat Beragama/*RUU PUB) that is on progress in Indonesia, an intensive study of the UCCHS and the research is important to be formulated into a *policy brief* as an input to the legislation process of the PUB drafting. Beyond the need, at the same time the policy brief needs to be socialized and discussed with policy makers at the central level (Ministry of Religious Affairs, Ministry of Domestic Affair, and the Ministry of Human Development and Culture Coordinator) and the local government.
- Nigeria and Indonesia are two countries chosen as a pilot project for an international program of holy sites. Therefore the experience on implementation of the programs related to the holy sites in Indonesia is good chance to contribute to the improvement process of UCCHS concept at international level, including its possibility to be a part of the UN resolution. In this respect, further research and studies are important to be conducted in Indonesia. Knowledge sector program in this field needs to be strengthened so that Indonesia is able to give knowledge contribute to the world in the field of respecting and protection of holy sites.

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LIST OF QUOTED INTERVIEWEES

Manado:

- Ari
- Fred Tawalujan
- Iwan Runtunuwu
- Maria Heny Pratiknjo
- Paul Richard Renwarin
- Philip Regar
- Taufiq Pasiak

Pontianak:

- Sakandi Talok
- Ucak Suherman
- Zaenuddin

Bali:

- Adinatha
- Any Hani'ah
- Eko
- I Gede Arya Sugiartha
- I Gede Suwindia
- Jro Mangku I Made Puger
- Kadek Chandra
- Mahfudz
- Nadlah
- Ni KadekArlini
- NyomanUdayana
- WS. Nusan Candra

Bekasi:

- Abdul Manan
- Ahmad Murtiono

- Ahmad Yudistira
- Djajang Buntoro
- Muhammad Amat
- Nungki
- Rahmat Hidayat
- RasniusPasaribu
- Suhendar

Author

Suhadi completed his doctoral studies at the Radboud University Nijmegen, Netherlands. Currently he is a lecturer at the Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS), Graduate School, Gadjah Mada University. His dissertation was published as *I Come from Pancasila Family: A Discursive Study on Muslim-Christian Identity Transformation in Post-Reform Era Indonesia* (Zurich: Lit-Verlag, 2014). Among of his works are *The Politics of Religious Education, The 2013 Curriculum, The Public Space of The School,* Yogyakarta: CRCS-UGM, Netherlands-Indonesia Consortium for Muslim-Christian Relations, Kerk in Actie, 2015 and "Emergence of Religious in Post-Tsunami Japan 2011 and Religious / Humanitarian Cultural Diplomacy," *Multiversa Journal of International Studies*, IIS-UGM, Vol. 3, (December 3, 2013), pp. 199-210. Suhadi's research interests are identity and the relationships between religious groups, Muslim-Christian relations, religious education, religion and human rights as well as religion and natural disasters.

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PROTECTING THE SACRED

An Analysis of Local Perspectives on Holy Site Protection in Four Areas in Indonesia

Indonesia is home to communities of believers in the world's major religions and traditions, in addition to various indigenous religions and other smaller world religions. Holy sites, varying from mosques to temples to churches to tombs, can be found in all corners of the archipelago. Despite this abundance of holy sites, there is a general lack of knowledge, understanding, and respect for these sacred spaces. Holy sites, particularly houses of worship and other sacred places, are often the target of violence during conflicts in Indonesia. That is why there is an urgent need to promote the significance of public understanding of houses of worship and holy sites.

This book investigates three key questions: (a) To what extent can the Universal Code of Conduct on Holy Sites be used to campaign for respect and protection towards houses of worship and holy sites in Indonesia? (b) What are the public's perceptions and public knowledge about houses of worship and holy sites as well as its attitude towards the recognition and respect for them? (c) How does social change affect the relationship between religions and the protection of houses of worship and holy sites in certain areas of Indonesia? The investigation took place in four areas of Indonesia: Manado, Pontianak, Bali, and Bekasi.

The publication of this book is collaboration among Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS), Graduate School,GadjahMada University Indonesia, Search for Common Ground (SfCG) in Indonesia, and Royal Norwegian Embassy in Jakarta.

The Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS) is a Master's program in the Graduate School, Gadjah Mada University, established in 2000. The three study areas on which learning and research are focussed at CRCS are inter-religious relations; religion, nature and culture; and religion and contemporary issues. Through its academic work, research, and public education programs, CRCS aims to develop the field of religious studies and to shape public understanding of the dynamics of religious life and social issues in order to further the development of a democratic, multicultural, and just society. Further information about CRCS can be found at http://www.crcs.ugm.ac.id.

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